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Romania's Totu Speaks to Balkan Meeting

AU011302 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
25 Feb 88 p 6

["Romania's Position and President Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept, Proposals, and Initiatives on Developing Cooperation and Turning the Balkans Into a Zone of Peace and Good-Neighborliness, Presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ioan Totu, at the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan Countries" in Belgrade 24 February 1988]

[Text] I have the honor to present President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, proposals, and initiatives on broadly developing relations with all Balkan states, expanding bilateral and multilateral relations of cooperation among the countries in this area, and on turning the Balkans into a zone of good-neighborliness, peace, and cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign troops and military bases—the speaker said.

In accordance with the consistent and principled orientation of its foreign policy, Romania pays particular attention to relations with its neighboring countries. It also pays particular attention to the development of multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries as an important contribution to establishing a lasting system of security and cooperation on our continent, to achieving a Europe of peace, amid the diversity of social systems, and as a contribution to the free and independent development of all states.

The relations established between Romania and each of the other Balkan states, firmly based on the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and the settlement of all disputes solely by negotiations and peaceful means have enabled our country to make its own contribution to intensifying confidence in the Balkans and to creating conditions to bring about a constant process of rapprochement and understanding. We can say with great satisfaction that Romania maintains positive relations with all states in this area.

Romania has acted consistently to develop multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries in all fields, both by promoting initiatives of its own and by participating in a number of government or nongovernment events that have taken place in other countries in this area.

Moving from what has been achieved and from the need to open new and broad prospects for developing cooperation and good-neighborliness, understanding, and security, as far back as 1982 Romania's president proposed the convening of a summit meeting of the Balkan states as a goal of particular political significance.

Romania supported the convening of the first meeting of the Conference of Experts of Balkan Countries, which was held in Athens at the beginning of 1984, and at which all issues regarding Balkan cooperation, including measures to turn this area into a nuclear-free zone, were discussed.

The Romanian-Bulgarian initiative on turning the Balkans into a chemical-weapons-free zone enjoyed wide response in the Balkans and throughout Europe. As is known, on the basis of this initiative Bucharest hosted the meeting of experts at which Romania presented a solemn draft declaration on proclaiming the Balkans a chemical-weapons-free zone.

As is known, other meetings were held in Sofia, Ankara, and Belgrade.

We also note with satisfaction that the political will for dialogue among all the countries in this area is more and more obvious. This is with a view to intensifying cooperation, both at a bilateral and multilateral level.

In the spirit of its principled position and actively supporting the proposals made by the other countries to develop multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in various fields of common interest, the speaker stressed, from the very beginning Romania welcomed and responded positively to the proposal made by the SFRY federal secretary of foreign affairs on convening the current meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of Balkan countries. It gave us satisfaction that all countries in this region responded favorably to the Yugoslav initiative of convening this meeting.

In our opinion, holding this meeting under favorable conditions will exert a positive influence on developing relations and cooperation in the Balkans and will contribute to strengthening trust and cooperation in this area. The Romanian delegation is participating in this meeting with the sincere desire for a free and constructive exchange of views on ways and means to expand cooperation and collaboration in areas of common interest.

The importance of our meeting is undoubtedly determined by the fact that it crowns the consistent efforts made by each country throughout all these years to develop relations among all Balkan states, confirms the validity of the realism and the correctness of these efforts, and expresses the aspirations for the peace and progress of our peoples.

Referring to the current stage of relations among our countries, Romania's president said:

"We believe that conditions exist to intensify economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation among all countries in the Balkans. In this sense, I would like to stress the importance of the proposals made by Romania

and Greece on convening in Bucharest a summit conference of heads of state and government of Balkan countries. We believe that the positive progress of the meeting of foreign ministers of Balkan countries will have a favorable influence on developing relations and on preparing and organizing the summit meeting of Balkan countries, and will contribute to strengthening trust and cooperation in this area."

In Romania's opinion, such a summit meeting of heads of state and government from Balkan countries would play a decisive role in seeking ways and means to strengthen trust, multilateral cooperation, and friendship among all countries and peoples in this area. In addition, it would give a vigorous impetus to efforts aimed at turning the Balkans into a zone of good-neighborliness, peace, and cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign troops and military bases. It would go down as an important, positive event in the history of the European Continent and within efforts aimed at building a world of peace, cooperation, and international security. With this in view, Romania proposes that the summit meeting of Balkan countries should be held in Bucharest, either at the end of the current year or in the first part of next year.

Bearing in mind that the basic problem of our time is to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to guarantee the vital right of people and nations to peace, existence, freedom, and independence, Romania has consistently worked to achieve this major goal. Romania has welcomed the agreement on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, viewing it as a first and important step on the road to eliminating the huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons capable of destroying the whole of mankind several times over. This is why we believe that it is necessary to intensify efforts to conclude new agreements on a 50-percent cut in nuclear strategic weapons and on completely eliminating them from our continent and throughout the world.

We also believe that under the current circumstances it would be of particular importance if the Balkan countries increased their actions in order to free Europe and the entire world from the nuclear nightmare. The existence of nuclear weapons in one country or another is not a domestic issue alone, on the contrary, through their destructive nature, they concern all European nations and all of mankind.

We want to declare that Romania has no nuclear weapons and does not wish to have such weapons.

In our view, in order to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, as a first tangible step, it would be necessary for the Balkan countries with such weapons located on their territories not to continue deploying new nuclear weapons and not to modernize the ones in place.

At the same time, taking account of the fact that all Balkan countries have stated that they do not produce, possess, and do not intend to acquire chemical weapons, we believe that it would be of great importance to continue the dialogue on this issue within the framework of a new meeting of experts with a view to agreeing on and adopting a solemn declaration whereby this actual situation is being sanctioned.

In firmly advocating the complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, Romania acts with great determination to substantially reduce conventional weapons, troops, and military expenditures, and to achieve a balance of forces at the lowest possible level.

In Romania's opinion, of particular importance for the cause of disarmament would be the beginning of negotiations between NATO member countries and the Warsaw Pact states on cuts in conventional weapons and troops in Europe. These negotiations should be attended also by the other European states. As is known, as early as 1986 Romania decided—on the basis of a national referendum—on a unilateral 5 percent cut in weapons, troops, and military expenditures.

Taking account of the openings that are beginning to take shape in the world, we believe that the time has come to raise the problem regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other states and to move to the dismantling of foreign military bases. In light of these considerations, we propose that the Balkan states with foreign military bases on their territory affirm their determination to work against the deployment of new bases, against developing and modernizing the ones in place, and in the direction of dismantling them altogether.

As is known, it is generally agreed that there is a close link between the problems of disarmament and those of development.

Through tangible disarmament measures, additional resources are made available designed to contribute to speeding up the socioeconomic progress of all states. This truth also holds true for the Balkan countries.

Romania is paying great attention to developing political relations among the Balkan countries and to giving concrete shape to important proposals and initiatives in this area. Romania has worked and continues to work energetically to expand economic relations among our countries by moving from the fact that these countries, irrespective of their social system, share common interests on the socioeconomic progress of each of them. This is a fact that naturally requires us to take advantage of our geographic proximity and of the traditional relations among our countries.

In this sense, Romania has concluded important documents with the Balkan countries designed to give an impetus to mutually advantageous cooperation—long-term programs, framework agreements, and trade agreements. Romania's present cooperation with these states includes a wide range of areas such as the comprehensive use of the hydropower potential of the Danube and cooperation in certain key branches of technology, and the joint achievement of new projects in the energy, iron and steel, and mining sectors.

Working to develop economic and trade relations among the Balkan countries, including cooperation in third markets, we want to point out our interest in constantly increasing the exchange of commodities. We believe that there are great possibilities in this area that are not sufficiently used. We advocate an unlimited development of these exchanges and tangible measures to give an impetus to trade relations. For this purpose, Romania is for the adoption of a decision—on the basis of consultations among the Balkan states—aimed at a mutual cut in customs duties between our countries, as a first step toward eliminating certain obstacles in trade relation between them.

Along with developing trade, Romania pays particular attention to modern forms of cooperation, primarily economic cooperation.

In past years our countries achieved noteworthy successes in key branches of technologies such as electronics, electrical engineering, machine-building, and chemistry. It would be to the benefit of all if we made full use of existing opportunities in these areas by intensifying cooperation in research and by making better use of energy and raw material resources.

We are interested in and wish to intensify production sharing and specialization, including by developing new forms of cooperation and by setting up joint companies in coal mining, the mining of iron ore and other raw materials, in energy, iron and steel, machine-building, and in fully using the production capacities in our countries. We also advocate the development of cooperation in the area of communications and the improvement of the transportation of goods between our countries and those in transit. We believe we should examine the possibilities offered in this respect by a more intensive use of water transportation. As far as we are concerned, on this occasion we also want to stress the advantages offered by the Danube-Black Sea Canal. We also believe that close cooperation can be achieved in developing the auto transportation system, in highway construction, and so forth.

Developments in the socioeconomic growth of our countries in past years and the great changes brought about by the new scientific-technological revolution require—in our view—intensified cooperation in science and technology, including top technologies. We must pay particular attention to new ways and means regarding the transfer of technologies among the Balkan countries and to adopting measures designed to facilitate broader exchange in this area in the mutual interest of our countries and peoples.

Like other Balkan countries, Romania has shown interest in and has made its contribution to initiating, organizing, and holding a number of inter-Balkan meetings such as those regarding economic and technical cooperation, communications, transportation, energy and raw materials, and industrial cooperation. Considering their particular topicality, we advocate further such meetings in order to agree on priority ventures to be implemented in the near future.

We also believe that our countries have great possibilities to expand cooperation in agriculture, food industry, and in the improvement of plant seeds and animal breeds.

I would also like to stress the importance of cooperation among our countries at a European and broader level with a view to adopting measures aimed at vigorously developing trade, economic and scientific-technical cooperation among states, and at eliminating any kind of pressure or political conditions, protectionist and discriminatory measures, and all artificial barriers that hamper the normal development of economic relations.

In our view, all these aspects can lead to close cooperation among the Balkan countries at a European and international level, considering their common interests as developing countries desiring the restructuring of current inequitable international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order affording them proper conditions for more vigorous development.

Working to develop inter-Balkan cooperation, our country has supported the creation or reactivation and intensification of certain permanent and specialized cooperation bodies—governmental or non-governmental—such as national committees, conferences, unions, and associations. We believe that the activity of these bodies is of great importance for the more vigorous affirmation and constant promotion of the spirit of inter-Balkan cooperation.

We advocate and work to develop cooperation among our countries in the cultural area, in education, youth affairs, information, tourism, sports, and so forth. On this occasion, too, we want to stress that exchanges and cooperation in all areas should serve better mutual understanding, a correct and objective presentation of facts in each country, and rapprochement and understanding among our peoples.

We are convinced that the successful progress of the current meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of Balkan countries will mark an important step on the road to detente and understanding, will further improve the

political atmosphere, and will open up positive prospects for the future development of this process, thus constituting a fruitful stage in the preparation and organization of the summit conference of Balkan countries to be held in Bucharest. A consensus by the participants to work to achieve this major goal would be welcomed and could offer broad prospects for rallying our efforts.

I want to express agreement with the proposals regarding the continuation of meetings of foreign affairs ministers of Balkan countries and with organizing them periodically in each of the Balkan countries on a rotating basis.

In our view, it would be of great importance to seek appropriate forms to capitalize on the ideas and proposals made within this framework on matters pertaining to the future cooperation among our countries.

In conclusion, the speaker said, I want to express our firm desire to cooperate closely with the representatives of the participating countries and to identify new ways and means to intensify and expand relations among our countries and to establish—through consensus—new ventures of future cooperation in the Balkans in the interests of our peoples and of cooperation and peace in this area, in Europe, and throughout the world.

SCINTEIA Comparison of Communique

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 27 February carries on page 6 the 1,200-word "Joint Communique Issued at the Conclusion of the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Balkan Countries" held in Belgrade on 24-26 February 1988. The SCINTEIA report has been compared with the Belgrade TANJUG English version published in the 26 February 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 10-11, revealing the following variations:

Page 10, column two, second paragraph, last sentence, reads in SCINTEIA:...it was understood that it is necessary to further study these proposals. [new paragraph]

The proposal to (rewording per SCINTEIA version).

Page 10, column two, third paragraph, only sentence reads in SCINTEIA: ...will be further examined with a view to creating appropriate conditions for holding it. (rewording per SCINTEIA version)

Page 10, column two, paragraph six, only sentence, reads in SCINTEIA: ...has been underlined. [new paragraph]

The view was ... (deleting words "including national minorities")

POLITIKA Comparison of Communique

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 27 February on page 2 carries the text of the Balkan ministers' communique issued on the last day of the conference held in Belgrade. The POLITIKA report has been compared to the Belgrade TANJUG English version published in the 26 February 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 10-11, revealing variations in heading and subheads supplied by POLITIKA, and the following variation:

Page 10, column two, paragraph six, only sentence through paragraph seven reads in POLITIKA: ...has been underlined. [new paragraph]

The view was... (deleting words "including national minorities")

Politburo, Councils Briefed on Balkan Meeting
AU011926 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 1 Mar 88

["On the Belgrade Meeting"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC of the BCP, the State Council and the Council of Ministers were briefed by Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Mr Petur Mladenov, on the Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries which was held from February 24 through February 26.

The meeting demonstrated the vitality and the influence of the new political thinking which brought out the realities and behests of our times in their entire complexity and interdependence and on this basis made possible the coordination of the efforts for the building of a peaceful world without any violence.

The Belgrade forum viewed important questions in connection with the strengthening of trust and security in the Balkan region, with the Balkan aspects of the Helsinki process. New prospects have been opened for fruitful, mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic, cultural, humanitarian and other spheres.

It was pointed out that with the achieved positive results the Belgrade meeting has turned into an important event in international life. It is a considerable contribution to the efforts for strengthening of the stability, good-neighbour relations and friendship in the Balkans, to the deepening of the positive tendencies in Europe.

Bulgaria will continue to cooperate actively to the further development of the climate of understanding, good-neighbour relations and mutually advantageous cooperation in the Balkans.

The competent authorities were entrusted with the working out of concrete measures for the fulfillment of the commitments ensuing from the Belgrade meeting.

Politburo on Trade Trends, Restructuring
AU020857 Sofia BTA in English
2134 GMT 2 Mar 88

["On the Restructuring in Home Trade and Services"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC of the BCP approved "Basic Trends of Restructuring in the Sphere of Home Trade and Services". The document points out that the realization of the party concept from the July Plenum (1987) of the CC of the BCP for qualitatively new development of socialism in this country requires radical restructuring in the sphere of trade and services too. The new model takes into account the following basic formulations: Unified and indivisible socialist property but all its forms—from state property to personal or mixed property have equal rights; the socialist property is transferred to the workteams for management; the state bodies carry out the strategic guidance mainly through economic levers; there is socialist self-government. The specific principles of the new model refer to the direct relation between the producer and the market, and the setting of all forms of trade on equal economic, legal and social conditions. Each workteam, after receiving the socialist property for management, works on an economic account, uses on lease the funds that have been granted to it, buys and sells goods and services without any limitations, can enter into partnership with producers or with other trade bodies. An important moment is the encouragement of competition with the aim of satisfying the market with goods and services. The main responsibility for the organization of any kind of activity in this sphere is undertaken by the territorial and other self-managing communities which have the necessary rights. The Politburo of the CC of the BCP is on the opinion that the entire realization of this model must be directed toward the raising of the living standard of the population. The document outlines the basic directions of restructuring in the sphere of trade and services. In the new conditions the producers of goods have the right and the obligation to enter the market directly, regardless of the forms of property and their territorial affiliation which presupposes the elimination of all unnecessary links between producers and consumers. The relations with consumers are built on economic basis. The preparation and the realization of the plan starts and ends with the market. An important condition is the research and study of the growing and constantly changing needs of the population. That is why producers must secure the production of goods and services corresponding to the purchasing capacities of the population. The trade banks, especially the Bank for Economic Initiatives and the agrarian and cooperative banks, through credits and foreign investments, through the establishing of joint enterprises, must encourage the widening and enrichment of the production. The document points out the need of radical changes in the system of trade organizations on the basis of their self-management and their work on economic account. The main form of payment must be the piecework principle. The workteams have the right to enter into partnership, on economic basis, with any other organization. All transformations are aiming to satisfy more fully the needs of the consumers and the needs of the consumers must determine the economic interest of each trade center. The document points out that the higher efficiency of trade and services need the foundation of production-trade chains, furniture centers, fast food chains, supermarkets, and along with them national organizations must also be established for trade with cars, books, medications, etc., which does not mean that such kind of trade cannot be organized by other organizations.

The resolution stresses that as in the other spheres in this sphere the criteria for utilization of the form of the property will be its efficiency, flexibility and qualitative satisfaction of the population's needs. Trade organizations must have the right to enter bravely into the

territory of production by organizing the production of certain goods and services themselves, by taking part in joint enterprises. The Politburo of the CC of the BCP is on the opinion that cooperatives must receive new development by restoring their real cooperative character and by the encouragement of the establishing of new cooperatives. A cooperative union of the craftsmen in this country should be founded. Specialized wholesale trade organizations of new type should be created as market bodies, bodies depending entirely on the market and working for the market, i.e. original commodity exchanges. Their regional warehouse bases must be open for each buyer, producer, importer and exporter. They would be able to import, export and exchange goods necessary for the home market on the basis of currency self-support, and in certain cases they would be able to use currency provided by the state. That means that these new organizations will turn into national bodies balancing the corresponding groups of commodities. Special attention is paid to the broad cooperation with other countries and companies on the basis of partnership, creation of joint enterprises, whose income remains at the disposal of the producers of goods and trade organizations. Some parts of the document dwell on the question of personnel and on the application of the techno-scientific achievements. Politburo of the CC of the BCP points out that considerable changes are necessary in the state government of this sphere. The "Home Trade and Services Association" will not be necessary in the new conditions. Its members, the self-managing organizations, should enter other associations, the Central Cooperative Union or the local municipal councils. The functions of the state should be limited to strategic planning and management and should be carried out by the Ministry of Economy and Planning. The export quotas and those for the home market will be determined by the same ministry. The municipalities and mayorates should have more authority in the coordination and organization of the trade and services activities. Each municipality should work out its own trade and market policy and the regions should direct and coordinate the activity of the municipalities for the establishing of regional policy in the frame work of the national strategy. The document proposes the foundation of a Chamber of Commerce which should organize a system of market centers, commodity exchanges, permanent auction centers, marketing enterprises, advertising agencies, a system of permanent fairs and exhibitions, should resolve controversies between its members, etc. The document points also the need of consumer's councils which should defend the interests of the citizens. They will exercise public control and the questions raised by them will be obligatory viewed by the state bodies and by the socio-political organizations. In conclusion it is emphasized that the present resolution sets the beginning of a process which will be carried out step by step. The direct task: increasing of the production; constant improvement of the ratio between the goods on the market and the purchasing capacity of the population. It is expected that the Council of Ministers will issue a proper document for the realization of the resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

Zhivkov at Festive Meeting in Srednogorie

AU012112 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] An artistic evening was held today in the town of Srednogorie to mark the 70th anniversary of the birth of the writer Veselin Andreev. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, a comrade in arms of the writer in the resistance movement, was welcomed with exceptional cordiality. The function was also attended by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov and Yordan Yotov; Lazar Prichkapov, first secretary of Sofia Oblast BCP Committee; writers, and veterans of the anti-fascist struggle. Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union, delivered a speech on the author of the partisan songs ("They Found Immortality") and "The Brigade." Artists performed the works of Veselin Andreev. The partisan songs, documentary films, and photographs took those present back to the heroic years of the anti-Fascist resistance.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also had a meeting with the bureau of the Srednogorie Municipal BCP Committee. He was briefed on the development of the municipality toward qualitatively raising the level of its economy and the integrated solving of the region's socioeconomic problems.

Local Assistance to Poor Citizens Reported

AU011513 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Feb 88 p 5

[Report by Momchil Gurev, Plovdiv Oblast correspondent:"Development of Social Assistance"]

[Text] Pazardzhik, 28 February—The financial resources of the Pazardzhik Municipal Council budget allocated for social assistance to needy citizens and families are steadily increasing. In 1987 these resources amounted to 110,000 leva more than in 1986. Approximately 3,000 citizens and families have received various social welfare allowances. This includes invalids, old people who have no family and are incapacitated, soldiers families, orphans and half-orphans, and others. The greatest attention is devoted to the encouragement of the birthrate. Special allocations for pregnant women, for mother and child care, as well as for raising children, amounting to 1,265,000 leva, have been paid. Single mothers, large families, and others are being assisted.

Taxation Agreement Signed With Norway

AU011435 Sofia BTA in English 1310 GMT 1 Mar 88

["Bulgaria, Norway See More Cooperation Chances"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—Today Bulgaria and Norway signed an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation. The document was signed here by Mr Lyuben

Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and by Mrs Kari Jesteby, secretary of state at Norway's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They emphasized that the provisions of the agreement constitute a stable basis for wider cooperation in economics and trade, in science, technology and culture.

Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, today received Mrs Kari Jesteby. They discussed the promotion of bilateral relations and the situation in the world following the signature of the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

Joint Friendship With USSR Plenum Held

AU011943 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] The All-National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship held a plenum today. It was decided to hold the Sixth National Conference of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Movement in Sofia on 27 and 28 May.

The plenum also discussed the preparations for and organization of the accountability-organization conferences in the municipalities.

The plenum was chaired by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the All-National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship.

27th CPSU Congress Anniversary Noted

AU021006 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Feb 88 p 6

[Atanas Atanasov article: "Restructuring, Democracy,Peace"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress took place 2 years ago.Its strategic task was to remove everything that prevented and held back the development of socialism. It required the accelerating of the socioeconomic development, not as a goal in itself, but in close connection with the social and cultural needs of the people. Simultaneously, this strategy organically connected the task of developing the potential possibilities of socialism with the inexhaustible initiative, activity, and responsibility of all—from the scientist to the minister, and from the worker to the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee translated the ideological-theoretical platform into the language of practical deeds, and worked out the set of instruments for implementing the revolutionary transformations.

The January Plenum placed socialist democracy at the center of attention, as a precondition for and a consequence of the renewal and accelerated development of economy and society. This plenum clearly and univocally stressed: There will be no retreat. Restructuring and accelerated development under the slogan "More Democracy, More Socialism"—this is the alternative to the aggravated [zatrudneno] state of the national economy.

Some 5 months later the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum answered the question of how the offensive is to be conducted. Indeed it constructed the organizational-political foundation of the marked transformations in the main area—the area of the economy. The course of radical economic reform was articulated, and the code of this complex, dialectically contradictory, and continuous process—the Law on the State Enterprise (Trust)—was adopted.

The law was enhanced by 11 decrees on radical changes in all areas of economic practice and gave a "green light" to the economic levers for optimally combining the principle of planning with the independence, enterprising spirit, cost-accounting, and responsibility of the labor collectives, within the broad framework of socialist self-management.

The Congresses of the Unions of USSR Cinematographers, Writers, Theater Figures, and Painters took place during the past 2 years. In many respects these congresses were unprecedented and crucially important, because they outlined the contours and directions of restructuring in creativity and the entire life of the spheres of literature and arts.

The crest of this restructuring was marked by the remarkable achievements of Soviet figures in the areas of cinematography, theater, and literature. In this context one must also mention such symptomatic events as the revoking of the northern rivers project and the uncompromising struggle against alcoholism and corruption. Other facts, such as the rehabilitation of the noted party figures of the Leninist guard, Nikolay Bukharin, Aleksey Rykov, Krustyo Rakovski, and others, the USSR Supreme Soviet decree on anonymous letters and exposes, and so forth, are also indicative.

The second stage of restructuring the economy is beginning. It is accompanied by special excitement among the Soviet people. The disputes have exacerbated. Certain clashes of interests between various social groups have emerged. In some places the complex measures related to the process of radically reforming the economy are encountering a certain passive and active resistance. It is caused primarily by inertia, a bureaucratic approach, and hardened conservatism. Their antipode—avant-gardism—quickly emerged at the opposite pole.

The clashes of opinions and the overt and hidden resistance to the complex process of restructuring are inevitable and, indeed, represent a natural phenomenon in the atmosphere of the socialist pluralization of opinions. A calm, wise, but unrelenting struggle is being waged against them. The scientists called it a social struggle, without dramatizing the phenomenon. In fact, this struggle serves as an indicator of the multidirectional influence of the changes which have been undertaken, reveals the weak sectors in the front of revolutionary transformations, indicates where and why, despite everything, the wheels of restructuring are spinning uselessly, and why the desired results are not being achieved.

Not everything which has been envisaged, let alone what is possible, has been achieved. Nevertheless, the past 2 years were marked by satisfactory results, especially in implementing the main tasks posed by the congress, which determine the qualitative growth of the economy. Practically the entire growth of the national income is a result of the increased social productivity of labor. The following data is indicative: Within the total volume of industrial construction the technological reequipment and reconstruction of industry reached 50 percent, in comparison to 35.6 percent during the 11th 5-Year Plan period.

The machine building branches, on which the modernization of the national economy depends, are developing at the fastest pace. The growth of production in machine building during the last 2 years surpassed the growth during the last 3 years of the previous 5-Year Plan period. The relative proportion of basic machine building articles which correspond to the world level is already 48 percent, whereas in 1985 it was only 23 percent. The production of this leading branch is being modernized at a pace which is three times higher than in the past.

The 27th CPSU Congress comprehensively analyzed the international situation and, on this basis, outlined the specific characteristics of the USSR's dynamic foreign policy strategy. Its global goal is to implement the program to eliminate nuclear weapons by the end of the century, previously announced by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

The consistent efforts of the Soviet leadership subsequently prompted reliable steps related to solving vital international problems. The concrete proposals voiced from the congress' rostrum were supplemented and developed further in the joint initiatives of the USSR and its Warsaw Pact partners.

During the past 2 years, the world has witnessed certain remarkable events which marked the international activity after the 27th CPSU Congress. It suffices to mention the historical USSR-U.S. INF Treaty. The hope that mankind can be saved from the nuclear nightmare has emerged on the world horizon. Many and difficult obstacles are to be overcome if this is goal is to be achieved; however, the conviction that a nuclear-free world by the year 2000 is a real possibility and not an utopia prevails now.

Correction to Article on Balev Delegation

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Balev, BCP Delegation Leave for Prague" published in the 29 February East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 15:

Headline should read: "Balev, BCP Delegation Leave for Cuba." "Prague" should be replaced by "Cuba" on line two of the item. (changing "Prague" to "Cuba")

Call for Trust Along 'Contact Line' Viewed

AU020853 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 88 p 1

[Editorial: In Favor of a Zone of Trust, Cooperation, and Good-Neighborliness"]

[Text] The idea of a common European home has received yet another significant boost: In his speech on the 40th anniversary of Victorious February Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, voiced a proposal to gradually establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact [linie dotyku] between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

What are the motives behind this new Czechoslovak foreign-political initiative?

The initiative is motivated by the interest of the Czechoslovak (but not only the Czechoslovak) people in making Europe, which had been overrun by so many destructive wars in the past, become a worldwide example of a lastingly peaceful home—of good-neighborliness, of relations in which a neighbor, in his endeavors in the international field, also incorporates the justified, serious interests of all other inhabitants of their common home.

The idea of a common European home is not new; however, it has also not yet matured. It is an innovative idea, no doubt about that; and all states and all peoples whom it primarily concerns have the right and the duty to contribute their share to its elaboration.

Even today, the states of the European Continent are interlinked by numerous and multilateral ties, by common economic and political interests, by historical and cultural traditions; in addition, today they are faced by general-human problems which concern every one of them indiscriminately. Moreover, these problems can be resolved solely by joint effort. To use a simile, in Europe everybody is everybody's neighbor.

Quite understandably, the security problem is of paramount significance here. Security is the foundation stone, and only on this stone can the common European home be firmly based. The road toward security leads via the disarmament process, developed by specific steps, agreements, and treaties, that means by practical measures which would gradually, but most speedily, cut down the existing level of tension and confrontation (which must be understood today as a legacy of the past, as the product of "cold war," of prejudices and misunderstandings, as the product of all those old things which led to a situation in Europe which satisfied no sober- and rational-minded thinking person who really cares for the national and collective interests and needs of the European peoples).

Undoubtedly, the region called the heart of Europe, the region where we live, is of particular importance: Because it is here that the borders lie, the line of contact between the two most powerful military-political groupings in the world—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Numerous military arsenals have become accumulated on both sides of this border, the region is literally oversaturated with arms. It is more important than ever to undertake precisely here the steps that are so very necessary in order to change this unacceptable situation.

The problem of European security, like the entire issue of war and peace, requires a completely new approach from all states, which are increasingly realizing how urgent and unpostponable the task of easing security [uvolnovani bezpecnosti] in Europe has become. It is necessary to proceed from the knowledge that the security of every state and nation depends on how secure the others are.

The socialist states appeal to their partners in Europe to transform into a practical policy the knowledge that efforts to gain unilateral military advantages represent a natural threat to their neighbor, while simultaneously lowering the level of their own security; in other words, they impair those basic interests which every state is striving to safeguard.

Socialist Czechoslovakia proceeds from the conviction that a dialogue represents creative activity. It fulfills its purpose and mission at the precise moment when proposals and incentives are submitted on how to settle conflicts, develop common and unifying affairs, and firmly anchor them in international life. That has also given birth to the idea of gradually creating a zone of trust and cooperation, of good-neighborly relations precisely along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

It is true that a just peace and security cannot be ensured by military measures alone—that is why our proposal concerns political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian issues. However, without practical military measures it is scarcely possible to even consider expanding and deepening the political dialogue.

The Czechoslovak initiative is therefore primarily aimed at gradually creating a kind of "diluted" zone, freed of the most dangerous offensive weapons. This would rapidly and substantially lower the level of military confrontation and deepen the atmosphere of trust, since the development of a political dialogue and the limitation of offensive arms systems are interconnected.

The Czechoslovak initiative shows a certain continuity. It is closely linked with (and follows up) the joint GDR-CSSR proposals to create zones free of nuclear and chemical arms along the line of contact between NATO and Warsaw Pact states. Our initiative and these proposals can be viewed as one, for they contain points of

contact which can be linked; in fact, the proposal presented by Comrade Milos Jakes counts on the energetic participation of the states it concerns. Serious suggestions and useful ideas can be jointly discussed and embodied in the proposal.

The first Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear arms plays a significant role, in a way accelerating the driving force of the security process in Europe (the continent which is actually primarily concerned). The treaty is a complex of international documents involving nine states which had signed the CSCE Final Act. The process of eliminating nuclear arms also begins in Europe. The treaty is thus one of the focal points of current European policy.

A most realistic step was taken in this direction on Thursday [25 February] when the withdrawal of Soviet operational-tactical missiles from the CSSR and GDR began. The socialist states have thus made a gesture of good will, even before the Soviet-American treaty became ratified and valid and they became duty-bound to fulfill it. This well-considered and exemplary act of good will and responsibility convincingly proves how seriously the socialist states approach the first Soviet-American treaty.

The conclusion of the treaty itself and its ratification in the U.S. Congress and USSR Supreme Soviet help to create a healthier international political climate in Europe, which the Soviet Union, CSSR, and GDR want to help expand and deepen. We accepted Soviet nuclear missiles on our territory as an inevitable part of our collective defense, knowing that it is essential to maintain the military-strategic balance which was so threateningly disrupted by the American first-strike nuclear missiles deployed to the west of our borders. The Washington treaty has solved one of Europe's vital security interests—it rids the continent of intermediary- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. Our own country in particular will be rid of a direct nuclear threat: the Pershing 1A missiles deployed in Bavaria and targeted on Czechoslovak territory (even if the threat from other nuclear arms included in NATO equipment continues).

In this context we are justly alarmed by Western Europe not even considering the speediest possible renunciation of nuclear arms; on the contrary, it is thinking of military augmentation or, as it says, of "compensating for the loss of American nuclear missiles." The number of projects to modernize nuclear devices and produce new ones is increasing. The political representatives of Western Europe are obviously incapable of abandoning the illusion that nuclear arms "defend peace." They even claim that this is the "secant" [secna] component of West European security. It is becoming obvious that this stereotype, ossified, way of thinking whose consequences are extremely dangerous, way of thinking is hampering nuclear disarmament the most. The United States and its West European allies acknowledge only the smaller, less important part of the truth that there are far too many nuclear weapons and that it is therefore possible to cut down their numbers. But they refuse to grasp the basic, decisive truth that nuclear arms are an instrument of mankind's collective **suicide** [published in boldface]. A nuclear-free world is a "vision" and "utopia" for them, not an accessible reality—and the tenor of statements by some prominent representatives of West European governments seems to indicate that they are almost afraid of a world without nuclear arms.

We believe that many things can be overcome in a frank and sincere dialogue. Gradual steps toward consolidating European security could become a convincing argument, even for those in the West who have no faith, who doubt this. The Czechoslovak initiative is a step in this direction, a call for a mutually beneficial act—to build a common home of European security. We cannot build it alone, we need partners, good neighbors, on both sides of Europe.

Government 25 Feb Session Reported

AU020940 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Feb 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Convened; Agreement With the Orientation of Czechoslovak Foreign Policy; Results of Helmut Kohl's Visit; Preparing Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty on the Use of National Currencies; Further Economic Organizations Included in the Experiment"]

[Text] Prague—At its Thursday [25 February] session the CSSR Government expressed agreement with this year's orientation of Czechoslovak foreign policy. It will continue to be aimed mainly at ensuring favorable external conditions to implement the strategy of accelerating economic and social advancement and of restructuring our society. Czechoslovak foreign policy will be focused on strengthening cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in all spheres.

Relations with the developing countries will continue to hold an important place in it. Relations with the advanced capitalist countries will continue to develop on the principles of equal rights and mutual advantages, simultaneously devoting particular attention to our immediate neighbors—the FRG and Austria. Czechoslovakia will support the positive trends in the spheres of disarmament, the consolidation of security, and the expansion of cooperation on the bilateral and the multilateral levels; and it will actively participate in submitting and discussing specific initiatives. It will particularly concentrate on developing the hopeful trends in international relations which have been strikingly strengthened by the signing of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S.Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles on a global scale.

The government was briefed on the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact states, which was held in Prague on 23 February.

The government discussed the report on the course and results of the official visit paid to Czechoslovakia by FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 27 January 1988. It stated that the negotiations [conducted on this occasion] have created favorable new conditions for a further all-round development of relations between the two countries. The bilateral interest in a further intensification of good-neighborly relations, built on the principles of equal rights, mutual noninterference in internal affairs, and broad, bilaterally advantageous cooperation in for peace was affirmed during the visit. The government charged the ministers of foreign affairs and of foreign trade with the task of submitting to the premier comprehensive data on the implementation of suggestions for CSSR-FRG cooperation by the end of July 1988. The important thing is to start to appraise these suggestions immediately, and elaborate them into specific forms on the enterprise and ministerial levels.

The government's agreement with the conclusion and signing of an intergovernmental CSSR-USSR agreement on the use of national currencies in settling accounts on the level of direct contacts represents a momentous step in the development of international socialist economic integration. This agreement will enable those Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises which are authorized to engage in foreign trade activities in the sphere of direct production and scientific-technical relations, and also joint enterprises and associations, to settle accounts in the sphere of mutual payments in national currencies. The agreement will guarantee the organizations of both countries free access to the currency of their partner organizations, and will thus introduce internal convertibility into the defined sphere. This is the first agreement of its kind among the CEMA countries. At the same time, the government has agreed to the conclusion of such treaties (on the basis of similar principles) with other CEMA member countries. The main goal continues to be to gradually introduce the multilateral convertibility of the currencies of CEMA member countries.

The government also dealt with the proposal to negotiate a CSSR-GDR treaty on legal assistance in civil, family, and penal affairs. The existing treaty (concluded in 1956) does not correspond to the current needs of judiciary practices, not only because of the higher level of mutual relations, but also in view of the changes which have occurred in the meantime in the legal codes of the two states. The new treaty takes over those basic principles of the currently valid treaty which have proved their worth; it takes into consideration the experience acquired by the judicial agencies in granting legal aid, and proceeds from the valid legal codes of the two contractual sides. After the treaty is signed, it will be submitted to the CSSR Federal Assembly for approval.

The government also discussed the involvement of further economic organizations in the comprehensive experiment to enhance independence and responsibility in order to achieve efficient development. The government agrees with the participation of the following organizations in the experiment: the District Construction Enterprise in Blansko; the Romo plant in Fulnek; the Czechoslovak Automobile Repair Shops in Ceske Budejovice; the Leather Fancy Goods Industry economic production unit in Hradec Kralove; the District Construction Enterprise in Svitavy; and the Pragoprojekt enterprise in Prague. The extensive discussion of the experience acquired by government members throughout the experiment to date shows that the ensurance of tasks set by the Eighth 5-Year Plan was a binding and demanding prerequisite for asserting the rules of the experiment in individual enterprises and economic production units. It was confirmed that the comprehensive experiment is a momentous step on the road toward comprehensively restructuring the economic mechanism. It serves to verify the ability of enterprises and economic production units to operate according to conditions formulated in advance; to test ways of influencing them from the center; and to verify the effect of economic instruments and the impact of economic accountability within an enterprise. Both the economic staff and the working collectives expect to feel the effects of the experiment in their work. In order to make this possible, it is naturally not enough for the center to change only the external conditions of activities carried out by enterprises and economic production units. All economic relations and technical economic norms in enterprises, plants, and workshops must be clarified and, if possible, economic accountability must be brought down to the level of individual employees. This cannot be achieved without a striking improvement the standards of the enterprise's internal management.

In keeping with its preceding decision, the government reopened the discussion on the draft of basic directives for further work on a long-term CSSR plan up to the year 2000. The key problem is how to formulate these directives so that they would not again become the foundation on which our economy would continue its extensive development as practiced to date—a highly energy- and labor-intensive development, also placing high demands on raw and other materials, a development which is untenable (from long-term viewpoints) if we want to preserve and improve our status on world markets and, in the final effect, raise our living standards. The directives must also contain another important element—they must evaluate the impact of the new economic mechanism which is now under preparation.

After extensively discussing all these interconnections, and with an awareness of the momentous political and economic significance of the debated issues, the government charged the deputy premiers and ministers with the task of working out, by the end of this year, a variant of a centrally-oriented [centralne pojatou] long-term plan up to the year 2005. Nevertheless, in view of the expected (emphatically enhanced) independence of future state enterprises, all work on the long-term plans must be based on knowledge acquired by the enterprises themselves, without any exhortations from the center; the work must be based mainly on an analysis of future

sales possibilities both at home and abroad, and on an assessment of their own innovation activities and those of their competitors; and it must consider ways to raise labor productivity and quality, and enhance its ability to compete on world markets.

Daily Attacks VOA Religious Commentator

AU020831 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Feb 88 p 6

[Jaroslav Kojzar article: "About One Characteristic Political Activity; Father Hlinka's Dirty Game"]

[Text] "The murder of Stefan Polak, a priest in Borovce, surprised the Western world, because it happened in the Gorbachev era, which is generally regarded as a period of thaw, moderation, and prudence. No one has any doubts that this is not a robbery with murder, which is how CTK—the official spokesman of the government, the party, and State Security—tries to present it...."

What was it all about then? That, too, was explained to us by the author of a program broadcast by Voice of America recently: It was a "programmed murder" along the lines of the "example of the Poles," it was a new Popieluszko, about which "one of those responsible certainly knows something." Therefore the church, allegedly, will have "in the murdered priest a martyr, whose blood will become a blessing for believers."

Let us recapitulate the facts. The Priest Stefan Polak was found dead in the village of Borovce in Trnava District last October. It was murder. Special groups of the Security Corps were immediately deployed to find the murderer. They ascertained that Stefan Polak was the type of priest whom social problems did not interest. He was neither a member of the Pacem in Terris peace movement, nor did he behave like a radical. He was simply a village priest. Why, then, so many fabrications? Because from this murder, which every decent human being condemns, they are also trying to squeeze political capital for the benefit of political clericalism, and to slander our social system, our party, and the Security Corps.

The author also proceeds in a similar vein in his other programs. For example, on 15 January he does not hesitate to attack the new administrator of Olomouc diocese because he is not a Pacem in Terris member. In several subsequent programs he has tried to make propaganda for the so-called believers' signature action, which, allegedly was signed by many people, and he has condemned the majority of priests for not joining it, and has compared our present situation with fascism which, in his eyes, is a better alternative, and so forth.

Who is the author of these programs that are filled with hate? He calls himself Anton, signs his name Anton Hlinka. He is a member of the Salesian Order and should, therefore, take care of young people, their upbringing and education, their vital needs, help the hungry. They call him the Munich correspondent of VOICE OF AMERICA, he is a member of the militant World Congress of Slovaks, writes political treatises in which he attacks our country, he belongs to the group of emigrees such as Ludek Pachman and others, from which even those who provide their bread often outwardly dissociate themselves.

He is a friar. He is bound by the principles of Christian morals. He should be helping those who suffer and not engage in political activity which, in his own words, the Holy Father allegedly demands from other priests. He, however, behaves differently. He distorts, invents. Does this correspond with Christian moral principles? The aforementioned program about the death of Father Polak can also be an example.

As it is known, everywhere in the world there are criminals and lunatics who murder for reasons of gain, and they do not avoid even priests. Immense resources have already been expended to apprehend the priest's murderer. The local people know what energy the security staffers have expended to expose him. Unfortunately, the murderer is still on the loose. That has already been officially reported. But this is not what Mr Hlinka is after. An apprehended murderer is of no interest. What is of interest is the stage of the investigation during which he can freely invent things and, in close cooperation with special American services, try to make political capital.

Nothing is sacred to this over 60-year-old friar, a graduate of Trnava secondary school and of theology in Vienna and Rome. Anything that is good for attack, to disturb the atmosphere of cooperation and tranquility, comes in handy to him. And if this pertains precisely to his former fatherland? After all, he is paid by a different employer.

'Immense Losses' in Production, Construction

AU020735 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No.8 of 24 Feb 88 pp 16,17

[Article by Doctor Stefan Karabin, candidate of Sciences, of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs: "Billions Thrown Out of the Window"]

[Excerpt] The development of labor productivity in the Seventh 5-Year Plan as well as in the 1986-87 period did not fully correspond to assumptions and set targets. This happened because we did not have enough success in asserting the intensive factors of economic growth and, among other things, in a substantially better utilization of labor value added. The reduction of losses alone in the overall utilization of the work time in industry by 5 percent would constitute an increase in gross production by Kcs42,8 billion, and an increase in adjusted value added by Kcs14,2 billion. In the construction sector, the basic construction production would be Kcs4,9 billion higher.

These data unequivocally show how our common table is being deprived. These are immense losses, the extent of which constituted in 1986 in industry alone 18.3 percent of the total fund of the work time (accidents and illness not included). This constituted the loss of gross production amounting to Kcs156,6 billion, and of adjusted value added worth Kcs52,1 billion. The situation in the construction sector is not better. The extent of the overall non-utilization of work time reached up to 22.7 percent of the fund of the work time (accidents and illness not included), which constituted the loss in basic construction production to the tune of Kcs22,3 billion, and in the adjusted value added Kcs9,2 billion.

A glance at the structure of these losses shows that the greatest losses are in the within-the-shift [vnitrosmenove] utilization of work time. That is, where the utilization of work time depends on the organization of work and the standard of management. Facts show that our greatest weak spot lies here. From the available information ("The Survey of Problems of Labor Productivity in the CSSR Industry in 1986") it arises that these losses in industry reach about 15.4 percent, which amounts to the work of 285,000 workers. This figure in the construction industry is 19.2 percent, which is the fund of the work time of 57,100 workers. This means that we are, in fact, losing every day in the production and construction sectors the results of work of 342,000 workers. Moreover, the gravity of this problem is also being multiplied by the fact that the situation is getting worse every year, despite the fact that incessant—above all verbal—attention is being paid to this problem by political as well as state agencies. [passage omitted]

Slovak CC Presidium Meets

LD012347 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee Presidium considered at its meeting today the report on the main guidelines for the economic, social, and territorial development of Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, up till the year 2000 and 2010. This document will be completed within the framework of the continueing planning activities directed at futher developing Bratislava, raising the standard of living of the population, improving the environment, intensifying and making more efficient all activities in the city, and fully, utilizing material and spiritual resources. The improvement of the city's technical infrastructure, the reconstruction and expansion of the transport system—in particular the city's public transport, including the monorail—the construction and modernization of the material and technical base of health care, the structural reconstruction of the industry, the raising of the standard of services, the development of the scientific-research base, the rebuilding of the central area of the city—in particular its historical center—and the completion of the construction of Petrzalka will be a part of this modification of Bratislava.

In this connection, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium has also considered the resolution and the measures of the Slovak Sovialist Republic government for the implementation of the main guildelines for Bratislava's development. The CPSL Central Committee Presidium recommended to the Bratislava party city committee and to the national committee of Bratislava, the Slovak SR capital, publishing the main guidelines for the economic, social, and the territorial development of Bratislava to the year 2000 and 2010 in the Bratislava VECERNIK and at the same creating conditions for Bratislava citizens to contribute to the enrichment of this document and for their becoming active participants in its gradual implementation.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium also discussed the plans and the conception for the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of granting great privileges to the city of Bratislava. The celebrations, which will take place in 1991, are to deepen among other things the conscious attitude of the citizens toward their city and develop healthy socialist patriotism. At the same time, they are to assist in the strengthening of the pride and positive attitude toward Bratislava of other inhabitants of other Slovak cities and villages. The renewal and the improvement of the material and spiritual historical heritage and—in particular the renewal of the historical city center, historical monuments, and buildings—will also be a part of the preparations for the celebrations. The preparations for the celebrations will be organically linked with the wide development of work initiative which will help in turning Bratislava into an advanced socialist city.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium discussed the report on the public safety situation in the Slovak Socialist Republic in 1987 and discussed the main tasks in influencing it in 1988. It praised the fact that the security bodies provide a great contribution to improving the situation in public security in Slovakia, which had been developing in 1987 without disturbing phenomena of greater importance. This had, apart from other things, been manifested in the fact that there had not occurred violations of public order of greater significance, that the extent of registered crime had been reduced, and that the number of persons killed in road acidents had dropped.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium voiced dissatisfaction with the fact that fires, production accidents, and other exceptional events as well as economic crime continue to inflict damage to the national economy.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium has emphasized a requirement that public security organs step up in the coming period the struggle against all disorders in the spirit of the CPCZ Central Committee letter from February 1983, that it pays consistent attention to the observation of socialist legality, to the respect for rights and the justified interests of the citizens.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium also dealt with other issues from the sphere of organizational activity and cadre work.

Prague Reports Reagan Statements on Arms

LD012329 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan has declared that Washington never sacrifices the interests of its allies to any disarmament treaty with the USSR. At the annual conference of U.S. war veterans he said that the Soviet-U.S. treaty on reducing strategic offensive weapons should have the same priority as the treaty on the balance of conventional weapons in Europe. Although the President called for an entire ban on chemical weapons, at the same time he claimed that the United States must allegedly update its chemical weapons in the face of the Soviet threat. He repeated yet again that the only effective way of behaving toward the USSR is a policy based on a position of force.

Indra Meets Maslennikov-Led USSR Delegation

AU011350 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] Prague—Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received a USSR Supreme Soviet Planning and Budget Committees delegation in Prague on Tuesday [23 February].

In his speech he expressed the conviction that the visit by Soviet deputies to the CSSR will contribute to the exchange of practical experience on the role of representative and legislative bodies in the process of social restructuring and the acceleration of the social and economic development, which were determined by the 17th CPCZ and the 27th CPSU Congresses. We are attentively monitoring the progress of restructuring and the measures being adopted in the USSR, he said. This is for us an irreplaceable inspiration. However, we proceed from the necessity to respect our own conditions, needs, and opportunities.

In Czechoslovakia, too, a profound economic reform and democratization of society are the foundation of restructuring, Alois Indra continued. In this connection he recalled the conclusions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session and noted that restructuring in Czechoslovakia is approaching the stage of implementation and that all society is now entering a difficult transitory period in which one has to expect also certain sociopolitical problems. The necessary condition for the implementation of economic changes is to further deepen socialist democracy, a matter which also requires strengthening legislative and electional [volebni] agencies and substantially improving and intensifying their work. The CSSR Federal Assembly should discuss and approve almost 20 important laws this year alone.

The democratization of the Czechoslovak legislation is also reflected by the organizing of various discussions. What is crucial for the success of restructuring is the awareness of the people, Alois Indra stressed. Therefore, increased attention is being paid to the quality of ideological work, the implementation of the principles of openness, criticism, and public information. However, we unequivocally reject any attempts to misuse democracy and openness to antisocialist objectives, the chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly stressed in conclusion.

Nikolay Maslennikov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, chairman of the State Planning Committee attached to the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, and chairman of the Planning and Budget Committee of the Soviet of Nationalities attached to the USSR Supreme Soviet, said at the meeting that the current task of Soviet deputies is to reassess their activity as well as the work of all agencies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He described effective democratic control, ensuring of corresponding legal procedures, and preparing and elaborating adopted measures with the broad participation of the people as being the most important function of the highest Soviet legislative body. In this connection he noted the importance of the February Session of the CPSU Central Committee and the principled speech by its General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, who stressed the need to fundamentally enhance the role of the soviets.

A process of society's restructuring is now under way in the USSR, and exceptional emphasis is being put on the implementation of the economic reform and democratization of society, he continued. After a nationwide discussion of the draft Law on State Enterprises, enterprises manufacturing 60 percent of the total production are today working under the conditions of complete economic accountability and self-financing. As of 1 January 1989, the entire Soviet industry and other spheres of the USSR economy will go over to this principle. The number of employees in ministries in the Soviet Union is being currently reduced by 50 percent, and the apparatus of local managing agencies by one-third.

Nikolay Maslennikov appreciated the opportunity to exchange experience from the work of committees of the two countries' parliaments. He expressed the view that in the future too it will be necessary to strengthen personal contacts among deputies and the individual agencies of the highest representative bodies of the socialist countries.

The meeting was attended by Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and by chairmen of the Plan and Budget Committees of the two chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

Marat Kuznetsov, counselor-ambassador of the USSR Embassy to the CSSR, was also present.

Svatopluk Potac, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, acquainted the Soviet deputies with issues of the CSSR economic and social development and problems concerning the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The discussion was attended by Bohumil Urban, deputy premier of the Czech SR and chairman of the Czech Planning Commission.

Jakes Lauds Soviet Troops on Anniversary

AU010942 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 88 p 2

[RUDE PRAVO correspondent report: "Gathering in Milovice"]

[Text] Milovice (Our Correspondent)—Comrade Milos Jakes has sent the Central Group of Soviet Forces a congratulatory letter on the 70th anniversary of the inception of the Soviet Army. The letter was read at a festive gathering held by the command of the Central Group of Forces on the occasion of this important anniversary of a fraternal army on Monday [22 February].

The gathering was addressed by Lieutenant General Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Forces, on the 70th anniversary of the inception of the Soviet Army. Comrade Jozef Lenart, head of a Czechoslovak party and government delegation, delivered a greetings address.

Foreign Leaders Send February Greetings

USSR Message

AU010811 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations on the 40th Anniversary"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers sent Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR President Gustav Husak, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal a telegram of congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Victorious February. The telegram states:

Dear Comrades: The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers send you and all CSSR working people warm fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations on a glorious jubilee—the 40th anniversary of Victorious February—in the name of the Soviet people.

By scoring the February victory over reaction under the leadership of the CPCZ millions of Czechs and Slovaks made their choice in favor of socialism. Major successes have been accomplished in a historically short period thanks to the selfless work and creative activity of working people in the cities and the countryside and members of the intelligentsia; a mighty production and intellectual potential has been built and high standards of people's social guarantees have been safeguarded.

The CPCZ, true to the ideas and goals of February, concentrates today the energy of Communists, the workers class, and all people on the solution of current problems of the country's development and of improving the socialist system. The path to this is being opened by the program of the consistent implementation of the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress aimed at speeding up social and economic development and bringing about the comprehensive restructuring and democratization of the entire social life, a program that has been approved by the December 1987 session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The unity of the CPSU and the CPCZ and the inviolable friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have always served as the firm foundation for the fruitful development of mutual cooperation. We are confident that the concurrence of the general directions of fundamental restructuring in our two countries will be an important impetus for the entire set of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations to be raised to a new qualitative level.

Dear Comrades: We wholeheartedly wish you and all Communists and working people of Czechoslovakia further successes, happiness, and prosperity. We are firmly convinced that the strengthening ties between our peoples and states will continue to reliably contribute to the reinforcement of the socialist community, to peace, and social progress.

SRV Greetings

AU020930 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 88 p 2

[Unattributed report on the congratulatory telegram sent by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV State Council, and Pham Hung, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, to Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, CSSR President Gustav Husak, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal, on the 40th anniversary of Victorious February 1948]

[Text] The telegram sent by Nguyen van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV State Council, and Pham Hung, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, states:

"On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of February Victory we make bold to send you, the Czechoslovak people, the CPCZ, and the CSSR Government our most cordial congratulations.

"Under the far-sighted and resolute leadership of the CPCZ, with Comrade Klement Gottwald at its head, the workers class and working people of Czechoslovakia frustrated in February 1948 the attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary putsch which was undertaken by the bourgeoisie, took power into their own hands, and led Czechoslovakia toward the path of socialist development. The words February Victory were entered in golden letters in the history of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Czechoslovak people.

"Over the past 40 years, under the slogan 'Forward, and Not a Step Back' and in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Czechoslovak people have overcome all obstacles, achieving magnificent successes in the construction and defense of socialism.

"The Vietnamese people are happy about these great successes achieved by Czechoslovakia, and sincerely wish the fraternal Czechoslovak people success in accomplishing the tasks of economic and social advancement set by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

"The Vietnamese people highly appreciate the relations of friendship and close cooperation between the parties, states, and peoples of our two countries, based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism; they will exert every effort to further consolidate and deepen these ties in the interests of the revolution in every country, in the interests of peace and socialism throughout the world.

"Let the fraternal friendship, combat solidarity, and all-round cooperation between Vietnam and Czechoslovakia continue to grow and develop."

Mongolian Message

AU020838 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 88 p 2

[Unattributed report on the congratulatory telegram sent by Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Presidium of the Mongolian Great Hural and general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and Dumagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, to Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, CSSR President Gustav Husak, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal on the 40th anniversary of Victorious February 1948]

[Text] The telegram sent by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), and Dumagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, states:

"On behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, the MPR Council of Ministers, and all Mongolian people, as well as on our own behalf, we send you, and through you to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the fraternal peoples of the CSSR, ardent greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the February Victory which opened the road toward building socialism in Czechoslovakia.

"During the years of their rule, the Czechoslovak people—led by their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the CPCZ, and in close union with the USSR and other socialist countries—achieved outstanding successes in the development of the national economy and culture, and in other spheres of society's life. The CSSR is a firm part of world socialism, it enjoys great authority in the international field, and it is energetically pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy, both in Europe and throughout the world.

"We state with a feeling of great satisfaction that the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the MPRP and CPCZ, and between the MPR and CSSR, are successfully developing and deepening for the benefit of the peoples of our two countries, in the name of peace and socialism.

"With all our heart, dear Comrades, we wish you and all fraternal people of socialist Czechoslovakia new successes in realizing the conclusions adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress."

DPRK Congratulations

AU011724 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 88 p 2

[Text of congratulatory telegram sent by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president to Czechoslovak leaders on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Victorious February]

[Text] The telegram of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] and DPRK president states:

"On behalf of the WPK Central Committee, the DPRK Government, the Korean people, and on my own behalf, I am sending you, and through you to the CPCZ Central Committee, the Government and the people of the CSSR warm congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the February victory of the Czechoslovak working people.

"The February victory in 1948 was a historic event, in which counterrevolutionary forces connected with imperialism were defeated and a new stage of the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia began.

"In the past 40 years the Czechoslovak people, under the CPCZ leadership, overcame various difficulties and obstacles, energetically walked the path of socialism, and their efforts have led to changes in life.

"The Korean people sincerely rejoice at the successes which are being achieved by the Czechoslovak people in the struggle for defending socialism and in the construction of developed socialist society. We are expressing firm solidarity with their struggle to transform central Europe into a region without nuclear and chemical weapons and to maintain peace in Europe.

"On this occasion I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the parties, states, and the people of our two countries will deepen and develop in the effort for the victory of peace, socialism, and communism.

"Dear Comrades, I sincerely wish you and your people many further successes in the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress."

CSSR, PPR, GDR Officials View Environment

LD011801 Prague CTK in English
1552 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw March 1 (CTK correspondent)—A tripartite meeting of the deputy premiers of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Poland started in Jelenia Gora today on the initiative of Polish Premier Zbigniew M aner.

The delegations are led by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina, GDR Deputy Premier Hans Reichelt and Polish Deputy Premier Jozef Koziol.

The participants in the meeting will discuss the problems concerning enviromental protection in border areas of the three countries, mainly the protection of air, waters and forests, and will strive to extend cooperation in this sphere.

Honecker Addresses SED CC, Kreis Secretaries

AU191600 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13-14 Feb 88 pp 3-11

["From the Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a Meeting Between the Secretariat of the SED Central Committee and the First Secretaries of the Kreis Leaderships" in Berlin on 12 February: "With the People and for the People We Are Implementing the General Line of Our Party for the Well-Being of the People"]

[Text] Dear Comrades: We are meeting today to discuss the tasks which are a priority in our party's activity in the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress both in the domestic and foreign policy sphere. The year 1988 will be decisive in several ways. There are prospects for an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, with both sides adhering to the ABM Treaty signed in 1972 and observing that treaty during the course of an agreed period, as well as measures related to a radical reduction in conventional armed forces and armaments. Thus the start of disarmament, brought about through the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles, must be followed by further steps. It is already evident today that this would be an important factor for safeguarding peace. It would have a positive influence on the world climate, bring about a change in international relations, and promote the process of reducing confrontation, and the development of a broad, businesslike international cooperation.

At the same time 1988 is a year of decisive importance for the implementation of the tasks of the 1986-90 5-year plan in the GDR. This requires the development of the creativity, initiative, and diligence of the whole people in order to ensure the further stable and dynamic growth of the economy, in line with our course of the unity of economic and social policy. As the balance sheet of the past year shows, we have generally solid starting positions. The initial stages of the plan implementation in the new year and the results including the first 10 days of February justify our conviction that through joint work we will succeed in meeting the tasks that we are facing and in making good progress once again in the shaping of the advanced socialist society in the GDR.

The pledge for both previous and future successes is the purposeful leadership of the party, closely linked with the people and borne by their trust. It is also ideopolitical and organizational activity which proves itself day after day and has a mobilizing effect, which, in line with our 70 years of experience as a party is the decisive lever in implementing the lofty and at the same time realistic goals of the economic plan with the support of the mass of the people and which consistently enables one to realistically apply all one's own reserves wherever required, an activity which in all cases approaches the solution of problems openly, honestly, and constructively, and which, in a creative atmosphere of this nature, actively includes everyone in the consultations and solutions of tasks.

To do everything for the well-being and the good of the people is and remains our supreme concern. Worker-peasant power, socialism on German soil are the guarantee of an existence in which the human being can be a human being and the fruits of his work can accrue to his benefit. From this arises the strong impetus of personal commitment and creative participation in our joint great work, expressed in the living realization of our motto of socialist democracy: "Work together, plan together, govern together."

Conditions for the Struggle for Peace are Improving [subhead]

Comrades: When one looks at the international situation, one can state that after years of increasing confrontation, constantly increased arms race, and growing tensions, a turn for the better is beginning to be discernible. This encourages all those who are striving to avert a nuclear inferno, to stabilize peace permanently, and to make the principles of peaceful coexistence the norm of relations between states with differing social systems. In a word, the conditions for the struggle for peace are becoming more favorable.

However, not for a moment may we overlook the fact that progress in the spirit of reason and realism is only to be attained in the future as well by means of persistent efforts, against the resistance of those who still dream of military superiority and who are inclined to embark on risky adventures. Those who wish to replace the necessary disarmament in the nuclear and conventional spheres—as a prerequisite for this fruitful cooperation—by the modernization of armaments.

In the nuclear space age, a philosophy of suicide which is capable of pushing the nations over the precipice is even more irresponsible than ever. We are in favor of acting responsibly. It must be realized that in a nuclear war there would be neither winners nor losers, and that for this reason such a war should never allowed to be waged, that security may only be guaranteed with one another, no longer against one another. Under the influence of this realization, for the first time in human history, a real disarmament process has been started in which the interests of all sides are taken into account. It is being proven that the reduction and elimination of means of mass destruction are not only necessary but also possible. It is absolutely impossible to overestimate the effect of this proof on the solution of still imminent disarmament policy questions, on the attitude of the governments involved, and also, but by no means least, on the broadest international public opinion.

Coming into play here is the initiative-rich, constructive attitude of the Soviet Union, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and the Soviet Government, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, and the socialist countries, which make a great contribution to a secure world peace. We state with deep satisfaction that the proposals and activities agreed by the member states of the Warsaw Pact and their joint peace program are bringing about results by means of which the path toward a world free from nuclear weapons and the danger of war is being prepared. Our GDR is making a sizable contribution to all this by means of its policy of carrying out actions that have been coordinated with the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism as well as with the nonaligned states.

The treaty signed in Washington by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan concerning the elimination of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is in precisely this sense our success as well, a success for all those who, under the slogan "My Place of Work is my Battle Station for Peace," have accomplished, and continue every day to accomplish great achievements in strengthening the GDR and thus in safeguarding peace. The treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles represents a milestone of historic significance. Of course, for the time being it encompasses only a specific part of the nuclear weapons arsenals, which today is stockpiled in the world to the point of overflowing. But it also opens the way to agreements which will go further.

The double-zero option, which is now being realized, strengthens us in our resolve to bring about one zero option after the other, so that nuclear devilry of any range will disappear and that the people will be able to breath freely. What must also be reduced are the conventional forces of armaments, and what must be banned is the development, manufacture, storage, and use of chemical weapons. This does not lead, as some in the West assert, to less security for the world, but the consequence is rather more security. Massive resources will be released which facilitate the solutions of the vital problems of nations, such as overcoming backwardness, illiteracy, hunger, and other scourges.

Let us recall for a moment. When NATO began to deploy Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe in 1983 and not a few people were afraid that any prospect of disarmament would be destroyed for a long time, we replied at the seventh meeting of our party Central Committee with the call to struggle for peace precisely at that moment.

This met with the unanimous approval of our people, expressed by daily deeds to strengthen the GDR. If it was possible to prevent things in the international arena from deteriorating, and if striving for actual disarmament now dominates more and more in world affairs, then everyone has contributed to this in his own way.

As is known, the GDR, like the CSSR, has agreed with the Soviet Union that the intermediate-range missiles of shorter range stationed on its territory should be dismantled shortly, earlier than originally planned. This was praised at the recent meeting between foreign ministers Oskar Fischer and Edvard Shevardnadze. We are in favor of the full implementation of the treaty on intermediate-range missiles. To this end a relevant agreement was signed with the USSR at the last Berlin summit of the Warsaw Pact. Moreover, we agreed, through an exchange of notes with the United States, on inspections which can be carried out within a few hours. Military inspection rights by the United States on GDR territory for the next 13 years obviously confront us with new, not uncomplicated tasks. In the interest of peace and security we want to and we will fulfill the obligations in the correct manner while preserving our republic's rights of sovereignty.

Meanwhile, the representatives of the Soviet Union and United States are preparing at the negotiating table in Geneva an agreement on halving strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the ABM treaty. We welcome the fact that it is to be concluded during a further meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, which may take place in June of this year. The signing of an agreement of this nature will change the atmosphere in the world in favor of further disarmament steps to a degree that will make it possible to bring down all taboos in the sphere of disarmament.

Nuclear Disarmament in Europe To Be Extended to Other Spheres Without Delay [subhead]

However, as you can see from my visits to the Netherlands, Belgium, the FRG, and France, as well as from the outcome of my talks with the Greek Prime Minister Papandreou, we are already now working in support of extending nuclear disarmament in Europe to other spheres without delay. The GDR and the FRG are affected to a particular extent by the nuclear weapons systems with ranges under 500 km. The frequently used phrase in the West, "the shorter the range, the more Germans dead," is completely justified in this sense. We consider it expedient to reduce tactical nuclear weapons in connection with the armed forces and conventional weapons on our continent, and to renounce the modernization of weapons systems.

As you know from the reports published in our media, I have sent a letter to Chancellor Helmut Kohl on all this and hope for a positive response. We have a high regard for the FRG's contribution to bringing about the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. Now the two German states would best meet their responsibility for peace by working for further advances in the disarmament process in these spheres, which are contained in the joint communique on my visit to the FRG, including bringing about a nonaggression capability of the armies and member states of Warsaw Pact and NATO.

It is obvious that the proposal of the GDR and CSSR for a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe is gaining relevance. After all, it encompasses the short-range missiles and nuclear battlefield weapons which are located on the line of contact between the two alliances, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This would create, as Prime Minister Papandreou stated, a continuous nuclear-free zone in Europe, from Scandinavia to the Balkans, from the North to the South. This would be an important confidence-building measure since, as Franz Josef Strauss said after his visit to Moscow: One can state that no threat is posed by the East.

The faulty cycle of the arms race, in which one side carries out arms modernization and the other counterarms, must not be continued. Asymmetries, for example in tanks and combat planes, must not be compensated for by the side with fewer arms by building them up, but by the side that is superior by disarming. This is an equally simple and compelling logic. It is, at best, denied by those who want to continue to keep the peoples in a state of fear with arms escalation and overarmament. They express in unmistakable terms their concern that disarmament could go too far. Our standpoint is that in the interest of the survival of mankind, trust in international relations, detente, and cooperation for the benefit of a peaceful world, the arms craze must be halted once and for all.

The Warsaw Pact member states underlined this position at two summit meetings in Berlin last year, and they expanded their peace program with concrete proposals along the principle of equality and equal security. The core of the military doctrine which they have drafted is peace preservation and, to this end, the reduction of weapons and armed forces by both sides to a level which guarantees their defense capability and excludes offensive capability. This would be an act of the greatest significance in ensuring that both the present and the future generations can live without fear.

Peace and security are today the foremost task of world political affairs, and it is clear that here Europe occupies an important place. Socialist and capitalist states live next to one another on this continent and it is our aim to ensure that they get along together in their command home which, after all, they live in. In our view the Helsinki Final Act forms a solid basis for drafting house rules. If people act in accordance with it, no one need fear any sort of cheating, rather everyone gains by it.

We consider it to be of extraordinary importance that communists and social democrats have found a common language in the question of war or peace. Fundamental differences and contradictions continue to exist in political and ideological terms. However, both recognize their responsibility for working together in the interest of peace. The document adopted by the SED and SPD, "The Conflict of Ideologies and Joint Security," has a very positive effect. This has been shown by the international response, and I also found confirmation of this in the most wide-ranging talks during my recent state visits. After all, this document shows feasible ways of realizing joint interests and of solving contradictions in a manner which serves cooperation and does not harm it.

Crisis in the Capitalist Countries and its Background [subhead]

Comrades: In the capitalist world the events of the pasts months in particular confirmed the assessment we made a year ago that economic developments there are increasingly taking a contradictory and fragile turn. This manifested itself most forcefully in the stock exchange crash of October 1987. "Black Monday," as the Western media called it, began in Wall Street, spread like wildfire to the other stock markets, and led to great insecurity about economic prospects in all capitalist countries.

Prices on the stock exchange fell by 30 percent from their highest level of 1987 in the United States, by 36 percent in the FRG, and by 14 percent in Japan. At a rate of M1.58 at the end of 1987, the dollar exchange rate reached a historic low. "Black Monday" is a direct result of the serious upheavals in the capitalist world economy. The enormous price falls are proving to be a symptom of increasing difficulties and growing contradictions.

Economic growth was in any case marked by a relatively weak growth in the industrialized capitalist countries since the crisis of 1980/82. As the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE wrote at the end of the year, "expectations have worsened." The dollar rate will continue to cause concern in 1988, the stock exchange crash is putting a brake on growth, and in the FRG more businesses are entering the new year with more negative feelings than with positive ones, unlike 12 months ago. This is what the paper says.

The original growth forecasts for 1988 were repeatedly revised down as a result of the increasing uncertainty. For the FRG, expectations for economic development are now below 1 percent. The consequence is that mass unemployment remains at crisis proportions with intensified exploitation and rationalization. At present there are around 31 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries (OECD), including over 4 million in the FRG alone, according to trade union estimates.

In most of these countries far-reaching structural crises are determining the profile of economic development. This is seen most clearly in the crisis of entire branches, such as the steel, coal, and ship-building industries, which is particularly serious in the FRG. We are all witness to the agony—caused by the large monopolies in the interest of profit—of an entire economic area on the Rhine and Ruhr, but also to the mass resistance in favor of life, work, and a future for people. Who is not reminded of the intense struggles by the workers in the Weimar period and the "Burning Ruhr," who was not reminded of such actions today when 14,000 pupils demonstrated in Duisburg-Rheinhause 2 weeks ago. At

the same time the limits of the imperialist system in the solution of social problems emerge even more blatantly in view of the scientific-technological revolution. Beneath the surface, which is often artificially smoothed over, eruptive conflicts are developing out of crisis manifestations which are vented in class and mass struggles in order to force concessions from the system.

Economic developments in capitalism during the decade were most strongly affected by the temporal coincidence of the deceleration in the economy and arms buildup, which led, particularly in the United States, to the well-known developments in the stock exchanges. Due to the international consequences arising from this, the arms buildup became a central issue for the entire capitalist world economy, the main source and culminating point of the crisis. This arms buildup is the main cause of the "double deficit" of the U.S. budget and foreign trade. From 1980 to 1986 the U.S. arms expenditure rose from 162.4 billion dollars to 291.7 billion dollars, and over the same period the U.S. budget deficit increased from 50.7 billion dollars to 220.7 billion dollars. The connection between the two developments is unmistakable. In order to be able to "finance" its budget and foreign trade deficits, the United States has become even more dependent on capital input from other countries. In this way, the main country of imperialism has changed from a country which for decades exported more capital than it imported into a net capital-importing country and in the meantime into the greatest debtor country in the world.

Another consequence of the Stock Exchange crash is that the differences in interest rates between the United States and other countries, in particular the FRG and Japan, have become even sharper. The ruling forces in the United States have thoroughly grasped the fact that it has become urgently necessary to reduce disproportions in the capitalist world economy, but they want to increase the burdens of their "partners." The United States therefore wants to maintain the falls in interest rates to its own advantage and let the dollar rate drop even further, while at the same time demanding that Japan and the FRG boost their economic development by means of "economic programs." At present, by means of the falling dollar rate, a sort of punitive action is being taken against the insubordinate rivals, particularly Japan and the FRG. The disputes about all these issues have increased in violence. In this the contradictory relationship between differing and common interests of the imperialist centers and states has also become evident.

All in all, the present economic situation in capitalism turns out to be not merely the result of the "normal" working of the economic rules of this production method, where crisis, depression, revival, and upswing succeed one another more or less regularly. It is also a consequence of the intertwining of politics and economics, particularly of arms buildup and a policy of confrontation. This development has largely been brought about by the striving of the ruling forces in the United States for hegemony in the imperialistic system and for superiority over socialism.

This is why above all a political "change of position" is needed in order to start on the correction of previous wrong developments. Here we also find the explanation as to why precisely in many business circles of Western countries, even the United States, the first real disarmament agreements on intermediate-range missiles have met with a positive response. For the economic interests of these circles as well, steps in the direction of reduction and ending of the arms race, the civilian development of economy and technology, removing the pressure from finances and a system of international economic security are becoming increasingly necessary. The background is formed not least by global problems which are gaining in importance, and the increasing interweaving of all parts of the world, regardless of their social system.

Nothing will change regarding the capitalist rules as a result of this. In the debate between the systems, imperialism remains a dangerous opponent which has at its disposal considerable economic and scientific-technological resources. In the economy of its developed countries, important qualitative changes are taking place. The policy of adjustment is reflected as well in high monopoly profits despite low growth in production, in an increase in labor productivity with rates of between 3 and 5 percent—6 percent in Japan—accompanied by mass unemployment.

The international monopolies have not reduced their efforts to intensify the capitalist reproduction process and to use the results of scientific-technological progress. On the contrary, in view of the present situation, they can less than ever dispense with bringing the very newest onto the market, with the highest utility value, at lower costs and of best quality, if they do not want to be left behind in the ever-sharpening competitive struggle.

Thus it is important to understand the manifestations of crisis in capitalism as the consequences of the working of the rules which are inherent in this system, of the basic contradiction within it, and as the consequences of imperialist policy. At the same time one should not lose sight of the possibilities which continue to be given to this system to adjust the changed conditions of existence and development, without, in doing so, changing in the least its essence as a society of exploitation.

Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society—a Process of Profound, Political, Social, Intellectual, and Cultural Change [subhead]

Dear Comrades: In November we celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. Over these decades the Soviet Union, in pursuing the

Leninist course of socialist industrialization, of collectivization, of cultural revolution, and national liberation, developed from a backward country to the socialist world power whose strength and international influence is having increasing importance in the scales of history. No basic problem of the world can be decided without or against the Soviet country.

The system of socialist states came into being. Today the new social system—socialism—is being built in several European, Asian, and African countries, and in Cuba under different conditions. The historically still young socialism has brought forth achievements which have already proven its advantages over capitalist society. Here one need only emphasize the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, the overcoming of mass misery, backwardness, and illiteracy, the freeing of great creative forces for the economic, social, and cultural advancement of the peoples, the achieving of equal rights for women, the implementation of the basic rights of the young generation, guaranteed social protection and justice, equal opportunities for citizens to cooperate actively in social democracy in matters of social interest, and high moral principles and values.

Naturally, we are following developments in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries very attentively. They are at present characterized by a multiplicity of reviews and changes which are expressed in the most varied forms. Here it is a matter of accelerating socioeconomic development, of further increasing the standard of living and thus also of making socialism more attractive in peaceful competition with the capitalist system. For decades we have been working together with the other socialist countries to tap even more effectively the power inherent in socialism. We exchange experiences and learn from one another. The development processes being tackled in the socialist states will improve the conditions for more effective cooperation with one another. The GDR supports the efforts of the fraternal states to increase their economic power and further deepen and raise to a higher level their cooperation. We also receive the same support in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

All the experiences of the socialist states so far have shown that the building of socialism is a constant process of the creative search for the best ways in each case to solve new tasks and problems. Of course it is a matter of each country reacting promptly and flexibly to the new challenges in accordance with the specific national and international conditions. As far as the GDR is concerned, the elaboration of our strategic concept for the further shaping of the developed socialist society was at no time regarded as completed. On the contrary, we start from the premise that it is, as the SED program says, a process of profound political, social, intellectual, and cultural change. This requires, in accordance with our national conditions, always finding new answers to the questions life poses in order to steadily continue our social policy course, the centerpiece of which is the unity of economic and social policy. In doing so we naturally take into account and utilize the experiences of the other socialist countries. But this does not mean that we just copy them. This would be harmful.

In the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR the fact that for years we have been going along the path of comprehensive intensification of production and have taken the direction of accelerated application of key technologies in the national economy, as we again did in the decisions of the fifth plenary session, has proven its worth. The development of the combines as the backbone of our national economy and as the most efficient organizational structure under our conditions, proved to be an important step. The good results that we have meanwhile registered in raising the combines' and enterprises' own responsibility underpin this statement. Dear Comrades, this is how it should continue to be in the future, and here we must pay close attention to the independence of the factories within the framework of the combines.

Since the seventies we have been steadfastly creating a system of planning and management which is in line with the demands of the most intensive reproduction and scientific-technological revolution. In our country production and science are increasingly becoming a unit. I have already said that we are promoting this system in every way and are linking the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. Today we are confronted with the task of steadily continuing and perfecting it.

As you can see, there are also a series of issues in our country which our party always thoroughly analyzes and examines, and we will always have to make decisions and undertake changes in order to meet the people's demands on socialism. Man and his needs remain the most important yardstick. In the implementation of these tasks it is necessary to strengthen the leading role of the party of the working class just as much as the alliance with the parties and mass organizations allied in the National Front.

By means of its active work, the GDR contributes in the Warsaw Treaty and in the CEMA to strengthening our militant community, our alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Political cooperation between our parties and states has become more dynamic, operational, and effective over the past few years. We have also made progress in the economic and particularly in the scientific-technological sphere. Not infrequently we encounter new problems for which joint solutions must be sought. Our party and the GDR are in favor of advancing and creating new things and of eliminating what has not proven successful, while retaining what has turned out to be successful, for we communists, as Lenin put it, are the party of innovators.

Economic and Social Policy Remains the Decisive Area [subhead]

Dear Comrades: In 1988 we entered the third year of the current 5-year plan. After 2 years we have a good idea of what progress we have made and what still lies before us. It has once again been demonstrated that economic and social policy is and remains the decisive sphere for the further shaping of advanced socialist society in the GDR.

Summing up, one can say that our party is successfully conducting this historic process, that our social policy and economic strategy are endorsed by practice. Together with the people and for the people, we are realizing in a creative manner the general line of our policy for the benefit of the people, which has been further developed from party congress to party congress.

In 1986 and 1987 together a national income of M513.4 billion was produced. This is M102 billion more than in the first 2 years of the previous 5-year plan. It must be emphasized that the entire performance increase is the result of increased labor productivity and that the production growth is accompanied by a reduction in the specific production consumption. In accordance with the unity of social and economic policy, this progress in production was used to further improve the lives of the working people. In the past 2 years, for example, 429,876 apartments were newly built or modernized. Thus, in these 2 years alone housing conditions for another 1,290,000 citizens were tangibly improved. At the same time 19,952 places in nurseries and 43,662 kindergarten places, 4,101 classrooms, as well as 284 school gymnasiums and 11 medical clinics were established, and 47,016 square meters of selling space for trade within the framework of of the comprehensive housing program were created.

By raising the child benefit as of 1 May 1987, another significant measure aimed at promoting the families became effective. Thus the difference in the per-capita income of the families with children as compared with those without children was tangibly reduced. This year the older working people who will retire in 5 years are entitled to an additional week of annual leave. The proposal to further increase old age pensions in 1989 was welcomed with satisfaction.

At the 8th party congress I already pointed out in the Central Committee report that our far-reaching sociopolitical goals can only be realized on the basis of increasing economic performances. Our social development in the past decades was characterized by this interrelation. Today one can say that without this policy it would not have been possible for our country to take on such a stable and steady development, while at the same time mastering big problems such as the enormous price increase of raw materials in the seventies. Our answer was mainly to enhance the intensification of production and, through increasing one's own performance, to release the means necessary for realizing the multifaceted social progress of the past years.

In this light the Politburo constantly analyzed the progress of the plan fulfillment over the past year and has drawn the required conclusions, which are above all designed to improve the continuity and efficiency of production. I will deal in detail with that later. The essential result of the year 1987 was that our economic growth was largely based on the economic utilization of key technologies. The demands that result therefrom for education and further training, for the quality and the entire system of planning and working, are increasingly met by the enterprise collectives.

The new quality of the growth of our economy is being further enhanced. This is no simple process. While high technologies are increasingly dominating daily life in many combines, they are only finding their way into others, and in some combines production conditions have changed little so far. A solid basis has been created. Now it is a matter of applying high technologies on a broader scale every year in the national economy, so that the economic possibilities are exhausted.

In view of the demands of the year 1988, nobody can have any doubts about how correct and even vital our party's consistent decision in favor of microelectronics was. Without a basis of its own, which has meanwhile been created, our country would stand no chance of keeping pace in the race against time. Yes, we must speed up our pace because the international development of productive forces is accelerating. International standards are subject to constant and rapid movements. As a developed socialist industrialized country with a remarkable living standard, the GDR has no choice but to keep its position among the leading countries if it wants to maintain its room to maneuver in the social sphere and to strengthen its position in the international markets.

Ideopolitical work must be characterized by these new demands, and the good experiences that have been gained in mastering them must quickly be applied on a broad scale. Ideopolitical work should also show where insufficient progress is being made, and what measures are to be adopted in order to make up for and avoid shortfalls. Only those who understand the toughness of the technological challenge, the dialectics of this process, the vast chances it offers and the difficulties it entails, can fully grasp the value of what has been achieved so far and the whole boldness and future significance of our party's economic strategy. Such public awareness mobilizes the creative power of our people.

With the 1988 plan we are taking another decisive step on the path toward the new quality of economic growth which is determined by key technologies. Our plan is characterized by the principle of setting high tasks while at the same time realistically assessing our means and potential. As is known, in 1987 the tasks of the national economic plan were reduced to a certain degree in some areas. There were reasons for that. The economic requirements, however, were not removed through the

reduction of the planned production. The reduced performance growth resulted in shortages in distribution and this was sometimes negatively felt in production processes, in foreign trade, and in the supply to the population. We had to import a considerable amount from the nonsocialist monetary area to compensate for this.

In 1988 we will further strengthen the authority of the state national economic plan, and we are well aware of the fact that fulfilling its targets will not be an easy task. But "specifying" is no way out. Wherever problems occur, they must be soberly analyzed and jointly overcome, mainly through intensification, through the strength of the combines, by linking science and production, and through an increasingly improved utilization of the potentials of key technologies.

The competition pledges which are assumed by important combines and enterprises at the start of the year are also characterized by this spirit. I think of the exemplary projects in the Television Electronics Works in Berlin, in the parent company of the "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt, in the Chemical Construction and Assembly Combine in Halle, in the VEB Childrens' Fashion in Aschersleben, and many others.

All targets are aimed at steadily fulfilling and overfulfilling the tasks of the national economic plan through great daily performances, and at providing a broad range of products in accordance with the contracts. In doing this we know that already the exact implementation of the plan is of great value for all partners. Particular importance is to be attached to the reliable realization of the state plan positions, the completion of the investment projects according to schedule while achieving the planned performance increase. A great number of distributable finished products is required, linked with challenging goals regarding labor productivity, efficiency, and quality of the products, while ensuring the sale of the goods that are produced, which means that both regarding quality and quantity they must correspond to the order books.

As we know, in preparing the 1988 plan over 341,000 enterprise meetings were held during which corresponding proposals for the 1988 plan were submitted. In this connection, questions concerning the performance development and rationalization were discussed as well as the further improvement of the living and working conditions. This is living democracy. Now it is a matter of utilizing everything for the fulfillment of the plan. Every subcontractor product is to be regarded as the final product by the competent enterprise, and can become the final national economic product in the next production stage. Therefore it is necessary to achieve high quality in all stages so that high efficiency is ensured within the overall economic process.

Mastering High Technologies Determines the Growth of Labor Productivity [subhead]

Dear Comrades: To link the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism will assume a central role in the implementation of the 1988 plan. Great efforts are being made to quickly expand our own production in the sphere of key technologies, both regarding quantity and quality. This is being propagandized everyday by the mass media. It is now a question of developing everywhere the products in accordance with the specific conditions. The mastering of key technologies has a decisive influence on the growth of labor productivity. This is one reason that an average level is not acceptable as a yardstick, but only a leading position in science and technology and its economic application.

What it means to enter the race and keep pace with the international speed can most clearly be demonstrated in the sphere of microelectronics. The first production of the 256-kilobit memory circuits in the Zeiss Combine has opened a new era. Now it is mandatory to utilize this technological level and to start production at a larger scale. At the same time it is necessary to produce the corresponding microprocessors. This concerns the efforts to supply a range of microelectronic circuits from our own production, of memory circuits with capacities of 64 and 256 kilobits, of user-specific circuits and microprocessor systems. A better yield is the most important precondition for a rapid production increase. This requires the development and production of special precise technological equipment and specific subcontractor products of high quality in other spheres. Another challenge is posed by the 1-megabit memory circuits the production preparation of which is entering a decisive phase in 1988 in the Carl Zeiss Combine in Jena.

If one were to realize the capacity of a 64-kilobit memory circuit in conventional construction, transistors, capacitors, diodes, resistances, printed circuit cards, and pin-and-socket connectors weighing 250 kg would be required. The 64-kilobit memory circuit weighs only 1.5 grams. The 256-kilobit memory circuit has the same weight but it corresponds to nearly 1 tonne of conventional elements. But we should not only take into consideration the economic use of material. The essence of this is that it would not be possible to achieve with conventional means the performances that are accomplished by means of modern microelectronics.

The dynamics is passed on to the users of microelectronics. The employees of the Soemmerda Office Machine Works, for example, have started production of a new generation of printers, thus reducing the weight of the products from 40 kg to 7 kg and the amount of time from 111 to 21 hours. And already now the collective is rightly concentrating on the next generation of products.

In the GDR between 1976 and 1987 the production of microelectronic components increased more than sevenfold. Production of completely new generations of highly integrated circuits has been started. At the same time it was possible to use this progress in the control of machine tools, in telephone exchange technology, and in computer technology, and to increase service values and economical use. From this interrelationship, the high speed of this process, which must virtually permeate the entire economy, the true extent of the opportunities that are opened up by the key technologies can be seen. Here it is a question of eliminating friction losses and of accelerating the development in comradely cooperation between the combines and various branches of the economy on the basis of the experiences that have been gained.

Another example demonstrates this interrelationship: Based on the progress in microelectronics, computer technology is developed, which in turn should help increase even more efficiently production in the metalworking industry and other spheres. To this end, the regular production of engineers' workstations with a 32-bit working range, of workstation computers for the uniform system of electronic computer technology, and of a new generation of large computers is to be started in the Robotron Combine, and large-scale production of peripheral working memories is to be prepared.

These things happen in a similar way in other key technologies. Thus, about 79,000 industrial robots are being used in our national economy. This base is being rapidly strengthened. Here, too, what is important is not primarily quantity. The scientific-technological standard is higher at the same time, in particular through the application of sensor technology and the production of more highly flexible robots. This process must also be applied by the users in order to gain labor that is urgently needed for other tasks. Or let us look at flexible automated manufacturing stages. The 11th SED Congress set the demanding target to implement a total of 95 highly effective projects of this kind. The results are known, but we still have to make progress more quickly.

Whether in computer technology or flexible automation, the thing that is needed is always top modern technology and efficient application of it. The "economic project" must be worked out as precisely as the technological project—with the best personnel of all sectors involved. Rationalization and automation cost a lot of money. If they are to pay off, the user's labor productivity must increase considerably and the quality and efficiency of its production must soar. These changes interfere with traditional enterprise processes. If microelectronics and computer technology are to do what they are able to do, it is necessary to adapt the organization of labor to the opportunities provided by them.

Automation projects are affecting technological preparation and management processes of production and sale and are changing them fundamentally. This leads—step by step—from partial solutions to overall solutions, which causes a considerable increase in the economic results. This process, which has been characteristic of the progressive combines to date, has to be consistently imitated by other combines.

Individual combines have realized 20 percent of the production increase with modern technology based on microelectronics. Many of the things we have today we did not have before, or we had them only in small numbers. Now we are able to use more computer technology and automation equipment, having developed in-house production.

As is known, there were and still are people in the West who want to prevent our national economy from ever having this progressive technology. Therefore, they are pursuing a policy of embargo, which is intended to keep the productivity of our industry at a low level. We have responded in a convincing way. Now we have the preconditions to organize a comprehensive boost of rationalization with the help of the key technologies. This requires the commitment of the most brilliant minds, the best scientists, designers, engineers, and technologists, of skilled workers, inventors, and innovators. This need will again challenge the initiatives of the FDJ youth research collectives, since it is a matter of achieving a decisive breakthrough in the technological battle.

We Have No Reason To Strike the Word Success From Our Dictionary [subhead]

These, dear Comrades, are the decisive steps toward the accelerated development of the GDR's productive forces, and no faith-healer of our time, who lives off the industriousness of the workers and peasants, can eliminate them. We have no reason to look down on the achievements of the GDR's working people. We have no reason to apologize for the achievements of the GDR's working people. We have no reason to strike the word success from our dictionary. All the things we have and which indeed correspond to a high standard of living would be unthinkable without the industriousness of our people and without their active participation in solving the issue of society.

We are implementing our concept of the unity of economic and social policy. Its basic principles for the development of socialism are contained in the party program adopted in 1976. It is necessary to stabilize the GDR's high standard of living at a high level of production in industry and agriculture, to develop it further, and to make sure at any time that money keeps its value in our country, that people can buy something with it.

In order to achieve the necessary high labor productivity increase, it is particularly important to further strengthen the unity of machine building and electronics. We consider machine building to be a strong engine of the labor productivity growth. It must establish the lead for rationalization in many other branches by using new

technologies. In view of the GDR's industrial structure and its foreign trade targets, machine building also has to support a quickly growing proportion of exports. The 1988 state plan targets envisage to increase the contribution of the metal-working industry including electronics to exports. This development has to be enforced and accelerated. In particular by linking machine building and electronics, the standard of products is decided and the way is paved for them on the world markets. The future of our production sites, which are rich in tradition, is absolutely dependent on how we are able to solve this task.

Our competitors do not leave us much time for this. As early as in 1986, 75.5 percent of the FRG's machine-building enterprises used microelectronics in their products, and 60 percent had their own microelectronic departments. Our combines, too, have successfully started to develop and produce totally new types of machine tools, automated manufacturing assembly lines, and flexible automated manufacturing systems. With some of these products they have gained an international reputation. This also applies to textile machinery building products and printing industry products. Two-thirds of our products in machine tool construction and processing machinery construction are currently demonstrating the link between high-quality engineering and microelectronics, which characterizes the new age of machine building. They help to determine international standards. We do indeed have chances of further developing this position.

Quality products have to be produced in greater numbers in order to acquire a better position on international markets and to provide better supplies for our own industry at the same time. The machine building combines, in particular those of machine tool construction, should concentrate all their forces on production modernization and they should also think about how they could get the necessary support from the national economy. But top modern technologies and products will yield their full profits only if they are uncompromisingly adapted to the requirements of the markets. This includes a far higher standard of service to customers and reliable supplies of spare parts at all time.

Since new circuits are being produced in a wider range and larger numbers and rationalization is making progress, it is time to make more intensive use of the opportunities provided by microelectronics in order to increase the production of consumer goods that are in great demand. This applies in particularly to electrical engineering and electronics, where the production of appropriate new kinds of products should be started. For this purpose, the responsible ministers will work out proposals based on national economic demands.

They are to proceed from the fact that consumer goods production in the area of electrical engineering and electronics is developing faster than production in general. Production of important goods, such as color television sets, tape recorders, and audio equipment will be considerably raised. The work in two Berlin enterprises, where 400,000 radio tape recorders are being produced in 1988 and 500,000 units are planned for 1989, is moving in the right direction. Thus, what is necessary are not cosmetic changes but meeting the increasing demand in a visibly better way. The scope of these projects becomes clear when one looks at the task of starting production of video recorders, digital record players, small computers, small electronic typewriters, diskette memories, printers, and monitors. In the camera-producing industry, it is also necessary to prepare a new generation of products.

Of course, considerable resources are needed to raise the performances of the combines of electrical engineering and electronics and their subcontractor enterprises. They must come primarily from rationalization. Corresponding investment projects have to be calculated, decided, and prepared with a view to the highest possible efficiency. Essential tasks must be completed within the next 2 to 3 years.

Modern science and technology also has to be a feature of the raw materials and other materials base. Therefore, metallurgy will continue to increase the proportion of refined products. Linking the production of rolled steel even more closely with the requirements of users has been started, which means, producing the right type of steel for a certain purpose. In this way it is possible to save 200,000 tonnes of rolled steel by 1990. It is now the users' task to make use of the more favorable range of materials in order to fully enforce the principles of light-gauge construction, last but not least in the interest of a good input-output ratio. At the same time ceramic and other new materials demand all our attention and support.

Over the past few years the chemical refinement industry has introduced new plastic materials and resins into production, which help to raise the quality of subcontractor products for electronic component parts. Now new construction plastics and composite materials have to be developed and produced. We attach great importance to the production of highly refined chemical fibers and their fashionable processing in the textile industry. The chemical fiber combine has already achieved results in this respect and should develop them further.

Biotechnology is faced with the task of starting large-scale production of antibiotics. In addition, there is the expansion of the ranges of enzymes and the application of biotechnological processes in the foodstuffs industry, which—all in all—will guarantee an increase of production of M0.5 billion. At the same time, a lead for the broader application of biotechnology in the pharmaceutical industry is to be established. The chemical installation construction combine bears considerable responsibility for supplying appropriate facilities and for reliably putting into service investment projects.

To work out new scientific findings and use them in an economically more favorable way can justifiably be called the key to fulfilling the 1988 national economic plan. This is how it will be possible to ensure the planned economic growth with less manpower and a practically equal quantity of material resources. This year scientific-technological results are envisaged to save more than 612 million manhours, to reduce unit input of rolled steel by 502,000 tonnes, and to save an amount of energy equivalent to 17.5 million tonnes of raw brown coal.

The main area where such considerable results can be achieved is the production of new goods, which is to reach M120 billion this year. The salient point is the decisive increase of product quality. Therefore, production with the "Q" quality mark is to increase more quickly than goods production as a whole. With this we continue last year's tendency, when the production of new goods increased by 8.6 percent and amounted to half of the production with the "Q" quality mark. We agree with the opinion that—given our conditions, our high potential of skilled workers—actually all products, with the exception of some things that have belonged to daily life for decades, should bear the "Q" quality mark. There is an incorruptible yardstick for this on the foreign markets: real foreign exchange proceeds calculated in marks. Thanks to the achievements of our industrious workers and peasants it must be possible that in foreign trade M1 of the GDR really is M1.

After all, the new products naturally demonstrate, with the economic results that they achieve, whether they live up to the high demands on quality or not. Here, too, there are results that point in the right direction. New products achieved 32 percent of industrial net proceeds—which is, after all, M12.5 billion. Their proportion in exports to the nonsocialist monetary area rose from 36 to 42 percent last year. All this should not delude anyone as to the fact that the decisive breakthrough in the area of quality is still ahead. The 11th SED Congress set the task to reach the international top standard with 60 percent of the new products by 1990.

High product quality is one of the indispensable conditions of further intensification. Slumps are all the more expensive the higher the technological standard of production is. Then the breakdown of a single part can bring costly production systems to a stop. Robots and other automatic equipment cannot work with unreliable preproducts. High technology leads to higher quality but it also demands higher quality in the form of subcontractor products and material. If new consumer goods prove to be unreliable, the people who buy them are justified in being annoyed and this tends to have a negative influence on their trust in our country's technical standard. On the other hand, the principle that those who want to buy quality have to produce quality holds true.

Raising quality is increasingly becoming a decisive way of raising performance. Where work does not live up to this demand something has to be changed. But, in general, it is necessary to organize quality production with considerably higher consistency.

The questions that decide both the economic results today and the prospects of a combine must not be decided in the individual sectors [ressortmaessig]. Therefore, production renewal and high scientific-technological and economic tasks set down in the tasking workbooks and renewal passes have to be given top priority in the agenda of the directors general and enterprise managers. The plenary assemblies of the shop stewards should also deal with production in the light of quality and sale.

There are top products and technologies that are needed by our national economy but that are not produced in sufficient numbers. This means—one cannot put it differently—that chances are given away. It helps little to console oneself with the thought of later times, because things that are new and good today will be overtaken by the developments tomorrow and will fall back to mediocrity. If investments are lacking in such a case, this is not a natural phenomenon but expresses criticism of a lack of farsightedness and flexibility on the part of the responsible managers.

Sometimes we find a certain double-track development of research and development on the one hand and in-house production of rationalization equipment and investments on the other. This cannot be accepted any longer. The priority of the manufacture of top products, which yield a high benefit, must determine both correlated targeting of the national economy and the corresponding decisions in the combines and regions, where the necessary construction projects have to be implemented above all.

In a phase of development in which the structure of our national economy is increasingly changing, investments are gaining even more weight than before. With their help, the direction, speed, and efficiency of this process are controlled, since more than 80 percent of production increase will come from investment projects this year. After thorough analysis we have decided to use the available means to a greater extent for the strengthening of the material-technical base. In this connection, we had to take into consideration that one-third of all industrial investments in the GDR are committed to raw material and energy supply. We are also faced with the necessity of replacing outdated equipment more quickly with new machinery in some sectors if the stability of production is to be ensured and its efficiency is to be increased. Any real scientific-technological progress in production goes hand in hand with investments, in particular the implementation of the key technologies in top-quality products that are manufactured in numbers that meet the demand.

In this regard, the 1988 plan envisages the use of a larger part of our national income for this task. This is one side of the coin. The other concerns the attitude of the

responsible people toward this national economic key issue. In the past, investments especially in the production sector were often insufficiently prepared and implemented.

The preparation and implementation of such investments poses high demands on the skill and responsible work of the managers. One is justified in speaking of a particular test. The director general of the combine has to lead this work; I would like to stress that the State Planning Commission and the ministries have to better support the directors general of the combines in the management and correlated targeting of large-scale projects.

In total, the situation in 1987 was not satisfactory. It was not rare for building facilities to be withdrawn from industrial objects. Some of the responsible ministers had almost grown accustomed to delays. The development of the production of industrial robots in the Berlin Marzahn Machine Tool Factory, the facilities in the Luebz Mineral Wool Works, and the expansion of the production of engine castings in the Leipzig Metal Casting Works are proof of this. Some bezirke did not complete industrial construction projects in favor of other projects. Thus, in 1987 the planned construction performances in Berlin were fulfilled only with 75.7 percent. In Rostock Bezirk plan fulfillment amounted to 78.4 percent, in Suhl Bezirk to 82.5 percent, in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk to 88.4 percent, and in Dresden Bezirk to 92.8 percent.

All this led to the basic conclusions which are above all expressed in the Politburo decision on industrial construction. I would like to stress once more some of its important stipulations. It is necessary to put into service every planned project at the required date and to reach full capacity within a short period. This includes timely qualification of the cadres, preparation of shift work, and learning to master the technological process. Proposals have been worked out to make early and specific decisions on investment projects in connection with the state targets of the coming plan year. This is to help prepare these projects in time and, in particular, to contractually fix the necessary equipment.

The hierarchy and order of investments is more intensively determined by national economic interrelations. Thus, consideration was given in particular to projects on which depend the production of subcontractor parts, the supplies to the population, the production of new high-quality products for domestic industry and for exports, and the saving of imports. We are always keeping in mind the great importance of rationalization projects which contribute to gaining labor that is urgently needed for other productive activities. Long-term projects, which commit funds for years without becoming effective on the production, are to be rechecked and thoroughly studied. Of course, one cannot do without them—just think of the preparation of brown coal open-cast mines or nuclear power plants. It is necessary to find a relationship that corresponds to the requirements of our national economic efficiency. Thus, the modernization of existing facilities must be the main path toward higher performances.

Closely linked with the national economic development are the tasks of environmental protection. They are being fulfilled hand in hand with progress in technology, rationalization, and modernization. In principle, everything that serves intensification also benefits environmental protection. This important issue must also be dealt with in harmony with our economic strategy.

Relations Between GDR and USSR Reach a Qualitatively New Level [subhead]

Dear Comrades: A central place in the steps to further implement our economic strategy is occupied by the scientific-technological and economic cooperation with the USSR. During my meeting with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev on the occasion of last year's October celebrations, we concurrently noted that the relations between the GDR and the USSR are reaching a qualitatively new level. Our cooperation is based on long-term agreements on mutual goods deliveries and services.

The coordination of the national economic plans has proved its worth as the most important basis for the development according to plan of our economic relations with the USSR and the other CEMA countries. In this respect, science, production, and mutual goods exchange are considered an inseparable unity. This considerably increases the economic effectiveness. The CEMA pricing principles, which have been proving their worth for a long time and are being maintained, are of great importance for the stability of our plans. They also apply to structural components. This contributes to effectively supporting our joint orientation toward highest efficiency and quality.

On the basis of the plans, direct relations between combines, associations, and enterprises are being expanded. The government agreement concluded in 1986 on this topic envisaged 104 direct relations. Currently there are already more than 120 agreements on direct cooperation. About 48 percent of the GDR's exports to the USSR provided by the national economic plan are being carried out on their basis. This is a convincing expression of the scope that has already been achieved.

Direct relations between the GDR's combines and enterprises with the partners in the CSSR, the PPR, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the SR of Romania have proved their worth and are developing favorably. They exist above all in the branches of the metal-working industry, but also in the basic industry and the chemical industry. They contribute to efficiently implementing cooperation in science and production as envisaged in the agreements and contracts.

An essential part of cooperation is the GDR's contribution to tapping raw materials and energy sources on USSR territory. With this we are establishing important conditions for consistent supplies to our national economy. Only recently was the government agreement on GDR participation in the construction of the Krivoi Rog Mining and Processing Combine signed. The GDR will primarily deliver highly productive equipment. Up to 3,000 working people from our country will work directly on this large building site. An important contribution to our country's energy supply is made by the about 14,000 GDR working people who participate in the construction of the "Progress" and "Yamburg-Tula I" natural gas pipelines in the USSR. Last year they laid about 206 km of natural gas pipelines under difficult climatic and geological conditions and simultaneously built apartments, day-nurseries and creches, schools, and department stores; the people come, for instance, from the Cottbus Housing Construction Combine.

The delivery of raw materials and energy sources by the USSR is always taking place in line with our agreements. This makes it the duty of every combine and enterprise in our country to fulfill the exports to the Soviet Union punctually and in line with the contracts. We consider this to be more than just an economic task. It is also the expression of our fraternal affinity with the party and the country of Lenin.

Dear Comrades: During the first months of the new plan year it is useful to deal a bit more intensively with the experiences gained during the course of the 1987 plan. I have already mentioned that concentrating on the key technologies and their broad economic application has fully proved its worth. This formed the decisive starting points for further economic growth. The year 1987 was characterized especially by the strong initiatives developed by the working people in particular in this area. They also demonstrated the self-confidence gained in dealing with top modern productive forces. These positive processes provide an important reason to remove everything that might diminish the results of such activities from the gears of the national economy.

In 1987 the GDR made good economic progress, but in certain areas there were frictions that often had to be overcome with great efforts. If one searches for the reasons, one often finds individual combines or enterprises which did not fulfill their plan tasks. The trouble caused by this is much higher than the production volume not realized by the combine. Its deficit has a ripple effect that reaches far into the national economic interrelations.

An important consequence of all this is paying far more attention to the decisive material plan positions. As is known, the plan centrally plans and correlates the production volume and use of 400 specific products because they are of particular importance for the entire economy. If the targets are not fully reached in one-third of these state plan positions, each individual case impedes others in fulfilling their tasks. In 1987 this applied to NKW [expansion not given] L 60, combine-harvesters, cold-forming machine tools, freezers, furniture, upholstered goods, and many other things. This causes that discontinuity which makes costs soar. "General compensation" helps little. The problem is a specific product which the client needs at a certain time in the quality stipulated by the contract.

All this makes it imperative to make backward combines and enterprises again reliable partners of the national economy as fast as humanly possible. This term clearly shows the far-reaching effects caused by a plan debtor. Defects in management, planning, and organization of the uniform reproduction process must be overcome by the responsible people. This concerns the respective enterprises and combines, and also more extensive relationships.

Certain subcontractor products have not been sufficiently developed. Of course, the relationship between final production and subcontractor products is not fixed once and for all. The changes caused by scientific-technological progress in the structure of the final products entail quantitatively and qualitatively new demands on the subcontractors. And precisely this complex process has to be mastered better.

In 1987 the plan targets were not fully reached in important positions, such as large and medium-sized electric machinery, compressors, roller bearings, cables, and electric lines; the reasons for this could be influenced more or less easily by the combines. But, in addition, some of these national economic connections had been insufficiently taken into consideration already in the 1987 plan by the State Planning Commission and the ministries. Both the leaders of the state organs and the directors general of the combines must better live up to their responsibility for an interrelated, balanced development if production is to be led steadily and with high efficiency up to the final stages.

The conclusions drawn from important aspects of the execution of the plan are comprehensively expressed in the Politburo decisions on investments and the development of industrial construction. They demonstrate, as I have mentioned, the necessity of giving high priority to the material base and our country's production assets.

Some factors in foreign trade are also causing difficulties. We have to take these conditions into consideration. They must be a reason to implement production intensification and our economic strategy with all consistency. What is necessary is concentrating even more intensively on those key technologies that are of basic importance for the future shaping of the GDR's production and export profile.

The foreign trade balance shows us one more aspect—the reduction of input for our products. In 1981-85 40 percent of the national income increase came from

reducing unit input in production. In 1987 this figure was only 29 percent. This declining tendency has to be stopped; we are aware of the fact that today each percent of more economical use of material and energy is backed by more scientific-technological performances than a few years ago. Progress has to be made especially in enterprise research. We need technological processes which facilitate a more economical use of materials and higher refinement of production within the framework of the GDR's available material base. The central state organs, from the State Planning Commission to the Ministry of Science and Technology to the industrial ministries, have to help the combines more intensively in putting new ideas into practice throughout the national economy.

When we speak of outstanding events in 1987 that affected us, we often mention the harsh winter first. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that our national economic results were considerably impaired by breakdowns occurring at absolutely normal temperatures both in older and top modern production equipment. Their considerable effect gave rise to a comprehensive analysis of the potential reasons. Even though conditions in the various cases were very different, the essential points can be briefly reduced to a common denominator. In each single case enterprise order and technological discipline had been seriously violated. The most prominent of all reasons was subjective misconduct.

Let me give you an example. At the beginning of December a fire broke out in the large pilot plant for pressure dust gassification of the Black Pump Combine, which damaged the plant considerably. Investigations showed that this fire could have been avoided. It broke out because of an entire chain of subjective mistakes. Brown coal dust escaped during repairs and caught fire at a badly insulated hot vapor pipe. The repair workers provisionally repaired the damage. The smoldering fire was extinguished without calling the fire brigade. But it continued to smolder. New mistakes let more dust escape, which again caught on fire. Now a large fire developed which caused M8-10 million damage to the plant. For days afterwards 700 working people of the gas combine and its cooperation partners worked in 12-hour shifts around the clock to remove the debris and to reconstruct everything.

It was expensive to reconstruct this plant that had been destroyed by fire. But the damage to our economy caused by the shortage of raw materials, energy, and finished products is 10 to 20 times higher. Some of the strains are still visible.

There was neither a lack of stipulations nor rules for the complicated technical operations, but there was a lack of qualification and technological discipline to manage and master such a process even under unusual circumstances. In particular the selection of cadres for such highly sensitive and complex plants demands considerably more attention.

Comparative Performance Appraisal—A Method To Generalize Best Results More Quickly [subhead]

Dear Comrades: It has been repeatedly proven that the chances of economic growth are used in different ways in the individual combines and regions. Comparative performance appraisal gives us a reliable method to generalize the best results more quickly and to make progress for all. Therefore, in one's own sphere of responsibility it has to lead to conclusions that accelerate progress. Let us start with the increase in labor productivity. In 54 kreise it was possible to raise labor productivity in industrial enterprises by 10 percent and more. These include important industrial kreise, such as Soemmerda, Erfurt-Stadt, Eisenhuettenstadt, Gera, and Weimar, and the kreise of Geithain and Torgau, which belonged to the best already the year before. In total, last year 188 of the 262 kreise reached a further increase in labor productivity. Labor productivity increased faster than net production in 124 of them, including Schwedt, Rosslau, Wismar-Stadt, and Wittstock.

However, the number of kreise where labor productivity decreased rose from 17 to 34 compared with 1986 and thus doubled. The kreise which showed a negative balance sheet in 1987 include Eisleben, Ruegen, Borna, Stralsund-Stadt, and Templin. Low labor productivity increase was reached by Magdeburg, Zittau, Suhl-Stadt, Glauchau, and Plauen-Stadt—these are some important industrial circles. Of course, conditions may be different here and there, but the increase of productivity, efficiency, and quality decisively determines the contribution of a kreis to strengthening the GDR.

From increasing labor productivity, analysis logically leads to the question of how much labor for new tasks could be gained through socialist rationalization. If one refers to 1,000 workers and employees in a kreis, in 1987 56 kreise gained 20 and more people in this field. It is interesting to note that these kreise are also characterized by an above-average growth of in-house production of rationalization means. There, the national economic norms are observed which have been fixed for gaining labor through the application of key technologies. In this respect we have to mention, for instance, Potsdam-Land, Gera-Stadt, Sebnitz, Greifswald-Stadt, and Karl-Marx-Stadt. In other kreise, where these important tasks of intensification have not been solved so successfully, the amount of gained labor is smaller.

A decisive part of these working people were gained for shift-work in the interest of better utilization of our valuable basic assets. Shift-work means many changes and also some strains on the individual and his family.

The responsible managers in the enterprises and combines are all the more obligated to pay particular attention—together with the regional authorities—to the working and living conditions of these working people. In this connection, commuter traffic is of particular importance and it should run without undue waiting times. The worker expects a full meal also during night-shift.

Everyone of us knows to what extent continuity of work, and also order and discipline influence the working people's mood and their readiness for work. If machinery and equipment in the industrial combines were to be used 10 minutes more per day, this would yield about M6 billion more production per year. Last year, however, an average of 8 hours per working person was lost in industry because of down-times due to unexcused absence and waiting and idle periods. This means a loss of about 23 million hours per year, which corresponds to the labor potential of about 10,600 working people. A total of 15.9 million work hours are due to "unexcused absence."

In spite of all this, one has to mention that last year much proof was given of the working people's high readiness to work, which determines the working climate in our country. Therefore, the party and work collectives should tolerate it all the less when individuals impair this good climate. Bungling and dawdling mean nothing else but living off the industriousness of one's colleagues.

In their ideological work, party and trade union must never permit the difference between good and bad work to be blurred and grievances to be tolerated. In particular in the interest of all those who work in a disciplined and responsible way, things that violate these norms of our life have to be discussed—at the assemblies as well as in the enterprise papers. Press, radio, and television can make an effective contribution to strengthening public opinion which is against carelessness and all the more highly appreciates personal commitment to high quality. By the way, our Labor Code also serves the interests of the industrious and decent working people and this is the how it should be used.

Dear Comrades: Last year the consumption of primary energy rose by 2.3 percent. It is interesting that only about half of this growth can be attributed to last year's unfavorable weather. Checks have repeatedly shown that quotas are exceeded and that rationalization measures or investments to save energy are not implemented according to plan. We cannot afford such losses.

In this connection, considerable reserves are located in the area of the local state organs in the kreise, towns, and villages. Therefore, the experiences gained in Eisenhuettenstadt should be generalized much more quickly. There, maintenance, service, and equipment in heating plants are organized for the entire kreis within the framework of regional rationalization. The respective facilities in the region are utilized jointly, and in particular smaller enterprises and institutions are given special support.

What economical use of energy means today is demonstrated by the initiatives of the Zeiss workers under the slogan "Full Production With Less Energy." In 1987 they achieved a 10.2-percent reduction of unit input of electricity. A total of 40,080 megawatt hours were returned by means of State Bank checks, that is approximately the annual consumption of 11,000 3-people households. The Leuna workers adopted this activity in 1988 and this should be done everywhere. In the spirit of the economical use of energy, it is necessary to use top modern science and technology, but one must not forget that very often we simply have to deal with waste. Everyone has probably seen lights not being switched off during the day on some construction sites. We do not have to compete with the sun, that is too expensive.

With regard to reducing input of transportation, we cannot be satisfied with all results. In this field, the Neuruppin Kreis is exemplary. Over the past few years it has been using experiences gained in the kreis of Glauchau, Aue, Sondershausen, and Haldensleben and created effective and comprehensive solutions in line with optimizing transportation. This made it possible to save about 1 million tonne-kilometers of freight transportation performances and more than 80,000 tonnes of diesel fuel in 1987. In addition, in many kreise and towns of all bezirke overruns of loading times were reduced and the turn-around of railroad cars was accelerated by means of central dispatchers and loading and unloading pools.

It holds true: Things that are produced on site do not have to be transported far. Therefore, it is important to increase the region's own procurement of mass building materials. Where geological conditions permit, in particular aggregates such as stone chips, pebble stones, and sand should be increasingly gained from local procurement. Bricks and other small wall construction materials, but also concrete goods need much transportation space. It can be saved if existing plants are maintained and modernized and kreis production reaches a scope that is sufficient to provide supplies to the construction sector and the population mostly by itself. Cooperation with the neighboring kreise can also contribute to this. In general, an increase in demand for transportation has to be decisively countered. If transportation expenditures are not evident enough in enterprise records, this should be changed.

Reducing production input has many facets. Thus, stocks in many enterprises are too large—both stocks of material, unfinished products, and finished goods. Excess has to be brought back into the national economic cycle. In the end, all these factors have an effect on the costs. Their reduction according to plan forms a decisive

precondition so that in our national economy debit and credit are in correct relations to each other and the profit that our socialist society needs is achieved.

Since 1971 Housing Conditions Have Visibly Improved for One Out of Two Citizens in the Republic [subhead]

Dear Comrades: The dynamic performance increase envisaged by the 1988 plan law is linked with further improving the working people's material and cultural standard of living. This corresponds to the unity of economic and social policy, which we continue steadily. I would like to discuss only a few particularly important questions.

Fulfilling the housing program remains the core of our party's social policy. Important things have been achieved. Since 1971 more than 2.8 million apartments were newly built or modernized and the corresponding communal facilities have been established. Thus, housing conditions have been visibly improved for one out of two citizens in our country. No less valuable is the progress achieved in maintaining the housing stock in many towns and villages. This has been possible due to the considerable performance increase with regard to building repairs in the kreis-administered construction sector.

We do not, however, overlook the fact that much has still to be done to solve the housing question as a social problem in the GDR by 1990. In all bezirke, kreise, and towns it is necessary to do the best one can with the planned means in order to create good housing conditions. In 1988 more than 211,000 apartments will be newly built or modernized.

In connection with this, 875 classrooms and 40 school gymnasiums are being built in the new residential areas. A total of 13,750 places in kindergartens and 6,700 in nurseries are being established. The construction of sales outlets with a total area of more than 27,000 square meters and the establishment of 251 jobs in health care are planned. A firm part of comprehensive housing construction are 27 youth clubs. Considerable means are earmarked for municipal supplies of energy and water in the residential areas, for transportation, the posts and telecommunications sector, and for public parks.

Many sectors of the national economy have to make their contribution to this important program. They reach from the construction sector to the production of furniture, decorative textiles and curtains, kitchen stoves, bath tubs and sinks, hand basins, refrigerators, lamps, floor coverings, wall papers, and many other things. If one of the responsible enterprises does not observe quality work or punctuality in production, if it does not deliver in line with its contracts, this diminishes the people's pleasure and impairs the social effect.

In many places urban construction has a gratifying influence on the outward appearance and the vital functions of the towns. We think that it can be made even more effective by applying reason and a sense of proportion. Before new trade and service facilities are constructed, it should be considered whether the first floors of existing buildings could not be used better. Input and benefit have to be weighed prudently. The reconstruction of an old apartment must not be more expensive than building a new one. Both must be weighed from the economic point of view. The state norm targets for expenditures are valid and not the motto "no matter what it costs." Our great attention to the concerns of the preservation of ancient monuments is well known, but it cannot be justified—neither from the economical nor the historic and cultural point of view—to turn every old building into a museum.

After all, the most favorable relation between new construction, modernization, and preservation has to be determined in the region in order to further increase the social effectiveness of housing construction. In this connection, maintenance and modernization of the existing housing stock is gaining increasing importance. In particular in view of the many new apartments, the demands of the residents are also growing in this respect. Particular attention has to be paid to old apartments in urban multi-family houses. Some kreise have permitted backlogs in roof repair programs, which cause annoyance and losses in housing stock. Thus, much depends on energetically developing the performances of the kreis-administered construction sector including the housing management enterprises and the building crafts.

In this connection it is self-evident that the planned funds for comprehensive housing construction must not be deviated into other channels. This has to be prevented as a matter of principle, and the projects envisaged by the plan are to be handed over punctually. The fact that in 1987 2,786 new apartments provided for by the plan were not built shows how much attention has to be paid to this. While the majority of the bezirke and kreise fulfilled their tasks, in the capital city 2,471 planned new apartments were not completed. In Freital Kreis 580 apartments were missing, in Dresden-Stadt 324, in Rosslau 322, in Eisleben 285, in Borna 231, in Jena-Stadt 219, and in Schwerin-Stadt 219. To these one has to add a considerable number of communal facilities, in particular places in nurseries and kindergartens and classrooms.

The performance increase of the construction sector ultimately decides on the progress in the housing program. The Politburo statement on the report of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership thoroughly explained how this economic process can be politically guided in an effective way. These focal points are deduced from a rich treasure of experiences and require everywhere that specific conclusions are adapted to the local conditions. Thus, it is indispensable for the local councils to create conditions through a lead in urban construction and

good preparation of locations for production and continuous building, which corresponds to the principles of cyclical and continuous production.

It is becoming increasingly important for the housing construction combines and other construction combines to achieve and undercut the GDR's optimum standards with new products—no matter whether we are talking about input in work time, steel and cement input, or energy input for room heating. The top achievements and possibilities for application of the key technologies demonstrated at the 1987 construction fair should be utilized to a much greater extent. Solid quality work from architecture to skilled construction remains the Alpha and Omega. High quality and decreasing costs must go hand in hand in this connection. Efficiency is too often impaired by extensive refinishing work. In 1987 the kreis-administered construction sector achieved a total increase of 3.2 percent in building output and of 5.1 percent in labor productivity and a reduction of prime costs by 1 percent.

We continue our policy of promoting cooperative and private building crafts. Aid for rationalization measures is gaining increasing importance. Considerable facilities of the cooperative and private crafts should be developed in this respect in order to carry out construction work even more quickly.

To Use Key Technologies Even More for Consumer Goods Production [subhead]

Dear Comrades: Trade and supply with their offers have a considerable influence on daily life. Since 1980 retail trade turnover has increased by almost M22 billion to M121.8 billion in 1987. The GDR is still one of the countries with rising real income, and consumer goods consumption is further increasing in our country.

In particular in this field the most varied sectors of the national economy as well as all regional organs down to the villages are bearing essential responsibility. Many combines are making great efforts to develop and produce in great numbers consumer goods that are in high demand. Thus, the households are equipped to such a degree with, for instance, refrigerators, washing machines, radio and television sets that we do not have to be ashamed at the international level. New, important facilities have been established to produce more machines for do-it-yourself hobbyists, living-room lamps, and household china. A steady supply of staple food and other goods for everyday consumption is a natural part of life, and this is to remain so.

On the other hand, there are still some things that are unsatisfactory with regard to the production of consumer goods and their supply. Sometimes there are incomprehensible shortages of one or the other product, which annoys the customers. They are justified in expecting production and trade to make timely decisions in such cases in order to prevent deficiencies or to react quickly if there are shortages. The considerable increase in monetary income naturally also changes demands in connection with purchasing power. Science and technology are expanding the possibilities and are occasioning new requirements posed on the ranges of high-quality technical consumer goods. Promises and declarations of intent are of little use. The most important response is: higher performances, production in line with demand, and custom-tailored supplies. Sometimes demands are ahead of production possibilities. Realism requires that this is said frankly, too.

Two things are in the foreground now. First, the tasks of consumer goods production and trade set down in the national economic plan and the corresponding subcontractor products have to be fully ensured, contractually agreed, and punctually fulfilled in scope, structure, and all positions from the material point of view. Continuous production and the rhythm of deliveries from trade necessary for supply also have to be guaranteed. Second, it is necessary—with a view to the 1990's—to establish further bases to utilize key technologies, which are undergoing a stormy development, to a much greater extent for the production of consumer goods.

The most important basis for providing an attractive range of products is increased production, and to an increasing extent this requires a command of modern technology. Therefore, within the framework of the housing program, we have provided substantial resources for rationalizing the furniture industry. In this way a number of enterprises achieved a sizable increase. Others however, fell short of attaining the planned targets. There the rationalization projects were not sufficiently planned and managed. The resources were frittered away. Some units work with the highest productivity, but the surrounding sections do not keep pace. In this way no overall solution, and thus no overall progress, can be achieved.

General conclusions have been drawn from this for the management of comprehensive rationalization projects, including the training of cadres for the most modern technology. We expect the furniture enterprises concerned to bring this matter to an end, to achieve a sensible relationship between costs and results, and to ensure a tangibly higher production of furniture for homes. This concerns both the works managers as well as the general managers of the combines, and the responsible minister.

In 1988 great and challenging tasks are to be fulfilled in the development of consumer goods production. Therefore the projects for the additional production of goods in great demand are all the more important. After a thorough examination of the possibilities, the Karl-Marx-Stadt SED Bezirk leadership has launched an initiative aimed at producing consumer goods worth M300 million in excess of the plan in the bezirk's

enterprises in 1988. The range of products includes refrigerators, washing machines, stereo radios, lamps, knitwear, hosiery, curtains, guitars, and a wide range of toys and fancy goods.

Great attention is being devoted to fashion wear for the young. We are in favor of maintaining and expanding the tested principle of special enterprises for young fashion, of increasing the initiative and responsibility of young people in designing and producing their own fashion and of making cooperation between the responsible managers and the FDJ even more efficient. What is important is to produce more goods that are to the liking of the young, and to obtain a wide and varied range of products in this important field.

As has been demonstrated, the Karl-Marx-Stadt initiative was understood by many in the republic as an impetus to develop their own ideas. The Erfurt Bezirk party organization, for example, has set itself the task of producing consumer goods worth M250 million in excess of the plan. In the meantime a conference of Berlin exemplary workers was held under the following slogan: "Course GDR 40: More Consumer Goods From Berlin." As a result, additional consumer goods worth M140 million are to be produced for the population. This is in keeping with the capital's responsibility. Generally it must be stated that the production of more consumer goods can only be achieved through higher performances on the basis of rationalization.

In general, far-reaching demands on economic relations between industry, agriculture, and trade result from the supply tasks. Direct relations have recently been expanded and new forms of cooperation have become effective. This concerns both relations between the CENTRUM department stores and industrial combines as well as between trade institutions and production, crafts, and trade enterprises which are located in the vicinity of towns and villages.

Contractual discipline in cooperation between wholesale and retail trade is turning out to be more and more essential. Recent events have shown, however, that greater attention is to be devoted to delivery according to schedule and contract. Violation of contracts thwarts the plan, obscures shortages in the range of products, and entails additional efforts on the part of the customers. And in the end higher costs and expenditure result for the national economy, and most of the time even more goods are required. The supply plan can only be fulfilled if the delivery obligations are met consistently and the goods are offered to the customers on a timely basis. The Politburo resolution on the improvement of management, planning, and economic cost-accounting in cooperation between production and trade, which was conveyed to you, serves this aim and the further improvement of economic results. In discussions like today's we have repeatedly dealt with the tasks and the increasing role of regional supply. Through the Torgau initiative we have made some progress. Meanwhile all kreises have adopted corresponding resolutions and measures. The tangible improvement of our own supply of fresh products, the general development and increased promotion of production close to the consumers, a more attractive appearance of thousands of trade institutions throughout town and country, and hundreds of reestablished markets—all this meets with great response among the population.

The example of the bread and pastries combines in Karl-Marx-Stadt and Dresden, which, in addition to their fresh products, now also produce long-life bread and pastries, has shown how local initiatives can tap additional reserves. They embarked on the right path. When demand and production did not correspond in this important position of basic supply, these bezirke and kreise assumed their responsibility. Instead of calling for more imports they increased their own production.

The Torgau example, however, has not become the determining standard in all kreise. At the same time it becomes clear that in the future we must go further than that. This applies to purposeful rationalization and performance-oriented restructuring in the sphere of fruits and vegetables, in meat-processing enterprises and enterprises producing bread and pastries, as well as to the more economical handling of transportation and more economical storage of goods, and to the wholesale of industrial goods. In the future this must naturally include the adaptation of the network of shops to the local conditions, as well as the adaptation of opening hours and the supply to tourists. Intensive work to improve the supply to the workers and of school meals is to be carried out.

The best intentions will only be crowned by success if everyone assumes his responsibility at his own place. To cite an example, measures were taken to supply an additional 3.5 million pairs of children's shoes through in-house production. The enterprises of the shoe combine are doing all they can to fulfill this important supply task of the national economy. But the planned investment projects are not being completed according to schedule by specified construction combines and the bezirk and kreis facilities. At the end of the year the general manager of the combine announced that the 13 construction projects planned for 1987 have not been completed, with the exception of one air-inflated structure. The construction of three light-gauge halls has been started. All the other projects will only be tackled in 1988 and some of them will not be completed before 1989. Delays of up to 6 months and more have occurred.

This means for the working people in the shoe enterprises that the packing of shoes will have to be carried out under more difficult conditions, in escape corridors, in other corridors, in staircases, and in buildings designed for social purposes. Finished products will be stored outdoors and only provisionally protected against bad weather. Similar cases have been reported in other

enterprises. In the VEB IFA-Sale Potsdam, for example, nine bicycles were standing outdoors, as a party secretary told me in a letter. The production collectives have no understanding for this, nor have we, as I would like to point out.

Meanwhile the required measures designed to change the situation have been taken in the shoe combine. But what is important is the attitude. These projects were centrally decided and balanced together with the additional production, and nobody has the right not to carry out the decisions. We expect all party kreis leaderships to conscientiously observe their party control duty in this matter.

Dear Comrades: It is high time to consider how the large potential of our consumer cooperatives, with over 4.6 million members and 191,000 unpaid functionaries, can be used even more effectively. We are primarily interested in systematically developing the potential that results from the close connection between cooperative production and cooperative trade. As a matter of fact, one-third of the production of bread and pastries and over one-quarter of the production of meat and sausages—an overall industrial production worth M5.7 billion—is concentrated in the consumer cooperatives. This is why in every kreis discussions are to be held with kreis delegates conferences and the cooperative committee on how the consumer cooperatives can make a larger contribution of their own to an improved supply in the towns and the country. Every member will share in the profit in accordance with the resolutions of the elected cooperative organs.

I would like to stress once again that full integration and increased promotion of the relevant cooperative institutions and crafts enterprises is of fundamental importance for supply. In our experience this is important for improving the quality of life, the feeling of well-being in our state, and the love of our country. A certain degree of narrow-mindedness and a few other obstacles are still to be overcome. Our policy aimed at the promotion and support for private restaurant proprietors and retail dealers, above all the so-called family enterprises, will be consistently continued. This is not only important for tourist regions, holiday areas, and itinerant trade. Popular institutions such as bakeries with small coffee houses, restaurants with butcher's shops attached, and ice parlors will receive more generous support.

In every kreis the situation in this field should be checked and one could consider how the performance potential of the cooperative and private crafts, retail traders, and restaurant proprietors can be promoted even more effectively in order to further improve supplies to the population and to guarantee repairs and services with the necessary scope. To grant more leeway in this respect is in the interest of the citizens and—last but not least—is beneficial for the national economy. The cooperatives and crafts enterprises should get fiscal advantages as an encouragement for high performances. This also applies to all other private enterprises, stores, and restaurants, which serve to ensure good supplies.

Industrial Combines Are Well Prepared for the Future [subhead]

Dear Comrades: With the state-owned combines we embarked upon the path of organizing modern socialist industrial production and of closely linking it with science and research. Based on these combines—which were steadily further developed—at the beginning of the 1980's it was possible to make production intensification the decisive basis of our economic growth. At present these strong economic units form the main force to fully exploit the economic possibilities of the key technologies. By doing this we are also perfecting their structure.

Naturally, the experiences of the most progressive combines play a special role, and therefore I would like to deal with them in more detail. Let us take the example of the Robotron Combine, which is one of the largest and most powerful combines, with more than 68,000 employees. For several years it has been occupying a top position in our national economy with regard to the targets of net production, labor productivity, and industrial goods production. I would just like to mention that, in this combine of electronic computer technology, net production increased by an annual average of 20 percent in 1983-87.

It is important that the director general, relying on his collective, is comprehensively organizing the renewal process and directing the material and intellectual potential of the combine toward high scientific-technological results—in both products and technologies. The economic power of Robotron primarily springs from the consistency with which guidelines are provided to introduce new and the newest products into production and to achieve great numbers of products. In 1987 production renewal reached 41.6 percent and was solidly founded on the improved service values of the developed products and declining production costs.

The fact is that, with the VEB Robotron Dresden, a mother company was founded in the combine which is proving itself through its performances and is developing into an example for the entire combine. From this VEB the interplay and dynamic development of the 20 enterprises are being organized, which are economically and juridically independent and have their own names. The VEB "Ernst Thaelmann" Robotron, Sommerda; Karl-Marx-Stadt Accounting Machine Works; Meiningen Computer Electronics, and many others are known in our country and far beyond. The director general of Robotron is justified in considering the high standard of each individual enterprise a basic precondition for the speed of development and the scientific-technological and economic position of the entire combine. We appreciate the work of the kreis leaderships which, with their

ideological work, strengthen the readiness of the enterprise collectives to fulfill such progressive demands. Firmly rooted in the regions, these enterprises often determine the social face of towns and villages, even of entire areas. The political climate in their collectives thus has an influence on many processes in the kreis.

Robotron has ambitious standards. The director general is providing guidelines to improve the reliability of computer technology products by a factor of 1.5 compared with their predecessors, to increase the performance-cost ratio to 2, and to reduce unit input in materials by 50 percent, and energy input by 30-60 percent. These targets are attaining concrete form, especially in the enterprises.

Performance increase in the combine is guaranteed by the fast increase in labor productivity. Labor that is needed for new production is gained by rationalization within one's own enterprise. In this way, working people are set free to strengthen the basis of subcontractor production, consumer goods production, and for the better utilization of high-quality production equipment. In the Soemmerda "Ernst Thaelmann" Office Machine Works alone, 160 working people were gained for other tasks by using CAD/CAM solutions. In the entire combine 2,500 working people, who were urgently needed in other places, were gained by means of socialist rationalization and the scientific organization of labor in 1986. This represents, after all, 3.7 percent of the entire staff. All these working people were used in production sectors.

Equally great attention to the efficient use of the social labor potential is reflected in the steady process of qualification. In the Robotron enterprises 31 percent of the staff, that is about 21,000 working people, have participated in basic and advanced training courses within 1 year. Someone who takes care in such a way will not be surprised by new technical demands.

Fulfilling today's plan also means creating conditions for increased performance tomorrow and the day after. This far-sighted way of working is a part of successful practical work in the combines. When Robotron started to work in line with the principle of self-financing it received support. To a rising degree, production input and output are no longer just values for calculations, since they increasingly determine the real economic conditions of expanded reproduction of the combine and its enterprises. In the case of Robotron this already characterized the discussion on the 1988 plan, as a result of which the planned net production was exceeded by M210 million in the draft plan. In view of self-financing, this provides on site, so to speak, more leeway for production modernization and improving the working people's working and living conditions.

This far-reaching step to perfect economic cost accounting directs all responsible people to penetrate the economic processes even more deeply and to act in line with their requirements. First, this applies to the management work in the combine and the enterprise, but also to the work of the party organizations, the trade union, the FDJ, and the Chamber of Technology. In these large economic units, party work must strengthen the will of the collectives to achieve products of the highest quality, to quickly introduce them into production, to produce goods in the required numbers, and to do so with low production costs. Interesting forms have developed and stood their test: Annual party aktiv sessions, voluntary commissions for science and technology, party aktivs for mastering large-scale rationalization measures, the work of the trade unions' shop stewards, and much more.

Far-sighted work, as is characteristic of the large majority of the combines, ensures production according to plan and avoids backlogs. If disturbances happen nevertheless, they have to be overcome with all the strength of the combine. This might require the temporary use of people from other sectors. In spite of the necessary hurry, personal talks with the people and convincing work to mobilize the performance of each individual must not be neglected.

Even though the industrial combines are developing in a very differentiated way, we can see that they are well prepared for the demands of the future. Their scientific-technological and economic potential enables them to accept increasingly greater economic responsibility. Many of them are in no way inferior in this respect to the Robotron Combine. Well known for their capacity are Combines such as Carl Zeiss Jena, Erfurt Microelectronics, Teltow Electronic Component Parts, the Eisenhuettenstadt "Hermann Matern" Strip Steel Combine with the "Ernst Thaelmann" Converter Steel Mill, the Eisleben "Wilhelm Pieck" Mansfeld Combine, the Riesa Pipe Combine, the Metal Light Construction Combine, the Torgau Plate Glass Combine, the Karl-Marx-Stadt Household Appliances Combine, and many others.

The further requirements are determined by the speedy development of the modern productive forces, which is taking place all over the world. In these combines it is necessary to guide the cycle of the uniform reproduction process in an ever more qualified manner. Already now the majority of the material-technical preconditions for new products and processes are being developed in the combines' in-house production of rationalization equipment. Now this is reaching a higher standard, especially as a result of the introduction of modern microelectronics. In this connection, specific software is increasingly being developed in the combines themselves, unconventional, vigorous solutions are being found and put into practice on site. The combines' own foreign trade activity, the short wire to the international markets, decisively contributes to the development and production of goods that correspond to the clients' wishes, fill the order books, and yield good results.

The combines' scientific-technological base is being further strengthened. The combines' own high performances are a basis for making cooperation with the

institutions of the Academy of Sciences and the university and technical school sector even more fruitful. The network of contractual economic relations, which inseparably links the combines with each other and with many other partners, had caused that concentration of scientific and economic power, that flexibility and efficiency, which enabled us to push ahead into the area of modern high technology, to successfully move around there, and to occupy leading positions in important fields.

Owing to these developments the responsibility of the director of the combine has considerably increased while that of the minister has not decreased in the process. On the contrary. A lot much depends on how he fulfills his task of supporting the combines in their efforts to achieve the best performances and of providing clear strategic targets for this. If disturbances are on the line, for instance in the relations with subcontractors, he has to immediately broach this subject in the Council of Ministers in order to reach the necessary decisions. The continuous performance increase requires such an interlacing of the various management levels, where everyone fully observes his responsibility and far-sightedly guarantees a dynamic development.

This applies to the execution of the 1988 plan tasks and the preparation of the 1989 national economic plan. Already now the determining economic processes have to be set down in order to guarantee the decisive preconditions for a further growth in performance. Therefore, it was stipulated that those scientific and technological tasks that bring about—by means of new products and technologies—economic growth and efficiency in 1989 and beyond be established. At the same time key industrial investments are to be determined for specific projects, so that the necessary contracts with suppliers of equipment and construction enterprises can be concluded in time and no time is lost.

These decisions should be made already in March, or at the latest in April 1988, so that from the beginning of the year production can be fully geared to the planned performance. With regard to the execution of the 1988 plan, every minister and every combine can already check which economic results should be achieved by implementing scientific-technological measures both in product renewal and in the introduction of new technologies. The plan is based on these tasks and they have been included in the records. The implementation of the economic results, which result from the tasks in science and technology, has to be checked as strictly and regularly as current production. This provides the preconditions for not only reaching the planned performances but purposefully exceeding them.

Our Country's Economic and Social Stability Has Increased With Socialist Planned Economy [subhead]

Dear Comrades: In order to further successfully implement the unity of economic and social policy, we are perfecting our socialist planned economy. In our people's experiences it is linked with values such as economic dynamism, social safety, full employment, free education and health care, and with projects of the dimension of our housing program. Our country's economic and social stability has increased with the socialist planned economy.

We are witness to how the fluctuations on the stock markets of Western countries destroy fortunes and ultimately decide the fate of millions of people. The capitalist market, with its allegedly free play of various forces, has again proved—in the eyes of all people—to be a synonym of exploitation, fear for one's existence, and mass unemployment. New poverty as the price for the enrichment of the rich is contrary to our values. Thus, advice from this direction cannot convince anyone. In the socialist planned economy scientific-technological and economic progress are in harmony with the right to work. The working people need not fear the prospects for the future but are realizing them as their own.

Practical work in the GDR shows that the needs of the whole society can be most effectively satisfied by means of central state management and planning, in combination with the combines' and enterprises' own responsibility. This is a clear advantage of socialism. Therefore, the plan, with its targets for combines and enterprises, is binding. Whatever they achieve above these targets benefits them according to our rules.

Our accounting system [bilanzsystem], which could be called the supporting framework of the plan, is being fully adjusted to modern computer technology, in order to control the interactions of a highly developed national economy even better. On the other hand, the are in which the combines conclude their economic contracts as juridically and economically independent units is becoming firmer and clearer. Their own responsibility is thus also increasing.

As life shows, the interaction of plan, balances, and contracts creates the best possible conditions for production according to demand, which meets the requirements of proportionate development according to plan. This also helps to guarantee the necessary flexibility with regard to specific ranges of goods. No one has the right to change the profile of an enterprise specializing in boys' trousers, which are in very high demand, to nightgowns.

From the very beginning, our party has taken into consideration the fact that the enterprises do not just manufacture any products but produce goods that represent a certain value in the socialist planned economy. There is a material and financial cycle and the stipulations of the plan are implemented by means of economic relations. This roughly shows our attitude to the economy in socialism.

We proceed from the premise that in the socialist planned economy the economic responsibility of the combines and enterprises themselves has very deep roots. Therefore, perfecting the planned economy always means further developing economic cost accounting.

With this in mind the 11th SED Congress called for the interest of the combines and enterprises to be ever more forcefully directed to high-quality low-cost production that is in accord with demand. This requires categories of values such as price, profits, costs, money, and interest rates to be applied in accordance with the plan. In this way, plan and economic cost accounting, plan and self-financing form a single whole.

Economic cost accounting plays an active role in this, since it stimulates economic interest and mobilizes forces that can be made effective only in this way. This takes place without endangering the existence of enterprises or full employment and it can certainly be combined with protection against spontaneous effects resulting from outside economic influences. In this respect, too, economic cost accounting fits into the overall complex of our economic and social policy.

We consider it essential to make the results that have been achieved and the costs that have been incurred economically visible in the enterprises and collectives. We have therefore placed special emphasis on expressing the real economic costs in industrial, agricultural, and building prices as well as in fees for transportation. Thus the costs become visible where the working people can best influence them. For production intensification in particular this has proved very important since the reduction of material and energy input was effectively promoted by financial means. Work with costs has been strongly stimulated, even though results are not yet satisfactory. In particular in this way it was possible to enforce a steady decline of unit input in production for the benefit of national income.

We know very well that life continuously produces new questions that have to be analyzed and solved. The development of socialist society has not been concluded. Many processes go hand in hand with its progress and demand creative actions. In this we let ourselves be guided by the objective regularities of socialism and take into consideration the specific national conditions in our country. A socialist planned economy offers every opportunity to shape the economic and social processes in the interest of the people.

Comprehensive Intensification—Main Path of Development of Performance and Efficiency in Agriculture [subhead]

Dear Comrades: The cooperative peasants and agricultural workers have fulfilled the pledge made at the 13th Peasants' Congress. In 1987 the largest ever harvest was brought in with great readiness being shown, in spite of extreme weather conditions. With 51 decitonnes of grain equivalent units per hectare, crop production was 5 percent above the plan. Yields have become more stable. For the fourth time in a row more than 11 million tonnes of grain were harvested. Per-hectare yield amounted to an average of 45.9 decitonnes. The highest per-hectare yields to date have been achieved for potatoes, with 268 decitonnes, for sugar beets, with 347 decitonnes, and for green and silage corn, with 423 decitonnes. This made it possible in 1987 to ensure supplies of food for the population at an internationally recognized level. In livestock production increased performance from the enterprises' own fodder procurement has become the main path of intensification with the same amount of animal stocks. The targets correlated by the state concerning slaughter animals, milk, eggs, and wool were exceeded. This also applies to the export plan.

The dynamic development of agricultural production is a stable factor in implementing our economic strategy. I do not have to tell you about the importance of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry with regard to supplies for the people and their healthy nutrition, but also as a domestic raw material source. Its contribution to national income is considerable. Fund-saving agricultural production also has a positive effect on the reproduction of the natural environment. We consider the solution of sociopolitical tasks in the countryside very important. For all these reasons the progressive intensification of our socialist agriculture is of utmost importance to the implementation of the main task.

More than ever before foodstuffs production is becoming the joint work of cooperative peasants, workers, and scientists. The interlacing of agriculture and other branches of the national economy is growing. It is not recognized everywhere that the stable supply of high-quality foods is also determined by the reliability of industrial supplies, for instance by agricultural machinery construction, electrical engineering and electronics, as well as by agricultural chemistry. At the same time, the changed structure and quality of food demand results in higher requirements on the supply of agricultural raw materials and their refinement.

With the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 13th Peasants' Congress, all kreis party organizations have comprehensive guidelines for their agricultural policy. On their basis the dynamic performance increase of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry is to be lastingly guaranteed under all conditions. The implementation of the 1988 plan is a great challenge. It is decisive to develop the initiatives, in particular those for the widespread implementation of the scientific-technological progress and the better utilization of the existing assets, in new dimensions. By conducting the socialist competition in a lively way, as is demonstrated by the Reichenbach cooperation group, conditions are to be established for this. We certainly expect agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry to again prove their high capacity using the economically available assets.

Comprehensive intensification is the main path of performance and growth in efficiency in agriculture. The results are essentially determined by how it is possible to make mechanization, chemization, and amelioration, the optimum utilization of biological potentials and findings, and storage and conservation effective on an

overall basis and increasingly supported by the key technologies. Crop production still has priority. Its maximum development is the basis for a stable supply of crop products to the population, for delivery of sufficient fodder to livestock production and of agricultural raw materials to industry. In this connection the application of latest results of scientific-technological progress in high quality field and crop cultivation measures is gaining increasing importance.

Work with maximum-yield concepts and maximum-yield plots shows that by means of coordinated intensification measures, high yields can be achieved under the most varied conditions. The great number of effective factors increasingly demands the use of modern computer technology for a scientifically founded soil and stock management. Thus, the available assets, such as fungicides, stem stabilizors, mineral fertilizers, and technical equipment are used even more effectively and the biological growth factors are brought to bear better. It has proved correct to manage all strains of grain, including rye, as intensive cultures.

Therefore, we reached high grain yields both in our best locations and on the March of Brandenburg's sands. In 1987 30 LPG's and state farms harvested more than 70 decitonnes of winter wheat per hectare; 33 enterprises harvested more than 65 decitonnes per hectare of winter barley. The performances of the 35 LPG's and state farms which harvested more than 40 decitonnes per hectare of winter rye on lightest soils deserve recognition. Last year 103 cooperatives and enterprises reached per-hectare yields of more than 60 decitonnes of grain. Political work has to develop even more readiness for work and reserves for yields have to be tapped.

Recultivation went well. Strong crops are in the fields and it is necessary to lead them to high yields with the knowledge and skills of the crop planters together with agricultural science. In spring cultivation observing the agrotechnical periods and high quality of work are of prime importance. The results of crop production have to be further developed; in this connection it is, above all, necessary to stabilize and further raise the yields of root crops and coarse fodder.

Efficient utilization of the soil as an inexhaustible source of raw materials is the basis of performance development. Every square meter has to be used economically and its fertility has to be improved. Exploiting all possibilities of reproducing the organic substance in unity with effective soil protection has proved its worth. Increasing importance is accorded to the expanded cultivation of leguminosae. Thus it is possible to support supplies of proteins to livestock from domestic production. Mining measures as well as industrial and housing construction have to take place by using agricultural land as little as possible. Intensification of crop production is to contribute to maintaining the natural environment. Soil-sparing cultivation methods, the economical use of agricultural chemicals, and the cultivation of woody plants at the edges of the fields are in the interest of agriculture and environmental protection.

Production of vegetables and fruit in wide ranges and growing at an above-average rate is necessary to provide healthy food to the population. This requires maximum production of fresh vegetables during the first half of the year, the exploitation of the variety of our kinds of vegetables, and last but not least, graduated cultivation and raising the production of such varieties for which supplies from domestic procurement have not yet been fully ensured. In the regions it is necessary to make full use of the most favorable natural and economic locations and to utilize the possibilities of supplies from domestic production with care. For the further increase and stability of fruit supply, reproduction and expansion according to plan of fruit cultures is indispensable. Backlogs in new planting of fruit trees must not be permitted in any case. It depends on the consistent implementation of the decisions for developing vegetable and fruit processing to establish a proportionate relation between procurement and processing.

The 1988 plan in livestock production is based on achieving production increase by means of performance increase per animal with equal stocks. In view of our structure of fodder procurement, a reduction of livestock would be unacceptable. Equal stocks are a guarantee for stable supplies under any circumstances. As you can see from the available target comparisons, a number of kreise have permitted a decline in the stocks of cows and sows. In contrast to the task of increasing sheep stocks, 91 kreise experienced a decline compared with the year before. Such developments must be overcome and this demands strict management work by the bezirk and kreis leaderships. In this connection, it is important that the stockmen's working and living conditions are improved and working time is saved.

In order to further accelerate rationalization and modernization for this purpose, the enterprises of agricultural technology, building, and equipment in the region should be made good use of. Further progress is to be reached by means of improved breeding of young animals, higher weight increases per day in fattening, and more efficient stock reproduction. This particularly applies to cattle breeding. If we consider the great differences in milk output per cow, the considerable performance reserves are obvious. Animal health is an intensification factor which can be tapped even more effectively with joint responsibility by stockmen and veterinaries. Economical use of fodder demands more attention everywhere.

The demands on the foodstuffs industry are rising. In order to meet them, all possibilities of rationalization and modernization have to be tapped. By realizing the measures to expand storage and processing facilities, preconditions have to be established for higher refinement of the raw materials. This applies both to the

performances of industry and in-house production of rationalization means in agriculture and to comprehensive regional rationalization.

Forestry is faced with the task of intensifying the production of rough timber and resin and of supplying these products to the national economy according to plan. The Politburo has decided on measures to visibly reduce damage to the forests. It is particularly necessary to guarantee afforestation with strong and resistant forest plants and to implement forest fertilizing to improve forest areas in the planned scope and in best quality. General order in the woods is to be further increased with the help of the population.

The development of agriculture into a branch of applied sciences poses higher demands on the party's leadership work. To economically utilize new findings of science and technology is a decisive way to increase yields and performances more rapidly than expenditures. Plot-related maximum yield concepts and animal-shed-related maximum performance concepts help to effectively exploit the yield and performance potentials of soil, plants, and animals. Maximum-yield plots link the last stage of research with the first stage of practical appliance of its results. The high yields in these plots also demonstrate the scientific lead. Thus, in 1987 the cooperative peasants of the Albersroda LPG harvested 96.3 decitonnes of winter wheat. The Grossobringen state farm harvested 84.5 decitonnes of winter barley, the Luessow and Saal LPG's reached 58.9 decitonnes of winter rye. With 517 decitonnes of potatoes in the Rothenschirmbach LPG and 616 decitonnes of sugar beets in the Vippachedelhausen LPG examplary per-hectare yields were reached on maximum-yield plots.

The increasing application of scientific-technological results in practical work gives rise to growing demands on the agricultural scientist. What has to be done has been set down in the long-term program of research and development for agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry through the year 2000. Close cooperation between the institutes of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the other institutes and facilities with the bezirke, kreise, and cooperatives is to be further expanded. In this connection it is to be ensured that regional conditions for strengthening the research potentials are being established. Via the Academy of Agricultural Sciences scientific cooperation with other scientific institutions in the GDR, the Soviet Union, and other CEMA countries is deepened in order to achieve in particular internationally considerable results in the field of biotechnology, microelectronics, and the breeding of new strains and species.

In putting scientific-technological progress into practice it has proved its worth to organize work by means of comprehensive long-term programs. The results are better if the science and technology plans, the competition programs, and the militant programs of the basic organizations pose and fulfill demanding targets. Work with science and technology party commissions in bezirk and kreis leaderships and the holding of party discussions on new tasks have stood their test.

Experience shows that those LPG's, state farms, and their cooperation groups make the best progress where the cadres have been given specific tasks in the application of scientific-technological progress and where their good fulfillment is recognized both morally and materially. Departments or work groups for science and technology in the cooperatives and enterprises or in their cooperation groups accelerate the application of new results. Together with voluntary commissions, managers, and experts they are doing much for the scientific preparation and organization of production. In this respect, the economic benefit always has to be used as a basis. Stimuli essential for the acceleration of the scientific-technological progress emanate from the Agricultural-Industrial Association. Its experiences in linking science and production have to be generalized even better. In the production of seeds and little plants as well as of breeding and productive livestock the state farms are bearing increasing responsibility for the progress made in breeding. All efforts are to be directed toward making them even more convincingly the trailblazers of new things.

Key technologies make it possible to utilize the natural factors in a considerably more efficient way and to raise the standard of agricultural production. Applied together with tested scientific-technological solutions and practical experiences, they increasingly determine the performance dynamism of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry. Modern computer technology does not by far replace creative man but multiplies the possibilities of his work. It frees potentials for the scientific permeation of all processes. This is an important field for the energy of the young people. It should be possible to stimulate even more their enthusiasm for solving interesting scientific tasks in youth brigades, youth research collectives, and the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow Movement.

The development of science and its economic application are inconceivable without further qualification of the cooperative peasants and workers and without using their rich treasure of experiences. This gives rise to higher demands on training facilities and scientific-technological centers and on their close cooperation with the scientific societies.

In the LPG's and state farms, in every cooperation group and every kreis, many qualified and experienced cadres are working today. With the help of science and technology they are often able to lead the LPG's and state farms to a higher level of performance and efficiency within a relatively short period. Therefore, it is an important concern of management work to win just these active people over to enforce the scientific-technological progress.

Stable growth of labor productivity is an indispensable precondition for the dynamic development of agriculture. The demographic development in our country also poses a new situation for agriculture. Further production and efficiency increase has to be achieved while labor input is gradually reduced.

Pressure on the economical use of human labor is logically increasing. The utilization of the existing labor potential and the scientific permeation of the entire reproduction process are gaining considerably higher importance. It is necessary to thoroughly check on where and how work hours can be saved or costs can be reduced. In this process, the socialist principle of performance is very important. The central stipulations for the evaluation of wage increases raise the efforts for performance in the cooperatives. This is, however, not yet felt in all LPG's down to every collective and every individual. In this respect it is particularly necessary to perfect stimulation in line with the respective conditions and possibilities.

The further quantitative and qualitative development of in-house production of rationalization equipment in agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry remains a decisive factor. Its capacity can be considerably increased by means of strict management, close cooperation with science, and the purposeful integration of innovators and rationalizers in order to provide custom-tailored rationalization solutions to an even greater extent. The condition for this is that the agricultural machinery industry and the subcontractors achieve their performances with a high scientific-technological standard and according to plan.

The unity of modernization, maintenance, and new establishment or new construction is an important key for the reproduction of basic assets according to plan. Economical management is required to ensure higher efficiency of investments in agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry. The cooperatives and enterprises achieve better applicability of technical equipment with small means when they organize effective care, service, and repairs together with the kreis enterprises of agricultural technology.

The socialist production conditions in the countryside give much room to the development of the productive forces. Under our conditions the cooperatives prove suitable to ensure the harmony of personal, collective, and social interests. In cooperation groups they closely collaborate with public property. The further development of cooperative democracy is an important focal point of our ideopolitical work. We consider the deepening of cooperation as the decisive path to raise production and efficiency, to unite the powers of all partners, and to ensure their proportionate development.

In the economic management work of the cooperation councils for crop and livestock production it is now necessary to achieve higher quality in all fields. This must be reflected in increasingly economical and long-term concepts. The cooperation groups of the LPG's and state farms have a good basis for this in the development concepts. There are also better preconditions for coordinating intensification measures and the comprehensive enforcement of socialist economic management. Thus, the cooperation council can purposefully exert influence on a stable performance development in all LPG's and state farms of the cooperation group. The work of the cooperation councils must be based on the plan of the cooperation group, the fulfillment of which is to be continuously analyzed and accounted for. In the end, the quality of cooperative work is reflected in more and better products.

The activity of cooperation associations is indispensable for efficient production and processing of agricultural products. Focal points are the accelerated application of branch-specific scientific-technological progress, the proportionate shaping of the individual production stages, and the comprehensive ensuring of quality parallel to higher efficiency. The capacity and quality of the work of the agrochemical centers, interenterprise building organizations, and amelioration cooperatives increasingly determine the progress of primary production. They are to be strengthened and their work is to be increasingly directed toward the requirements of the LPG's and state farms. This is also the concern of the new model statute for cooperative facilities which is currently under discussion.

We adhere to our principle of giving secure prospects to every village. Dynamic and efficient agricultural production is reflected in better social and intellectual-cultural conditions in the countryside. This contributes to making the peasants' work easier, to making the life of all villagers more attractive, and to ensuring social reproduction of the class of the cooperative peasants. In the future too, it will be impossible to provide all facilities of infrastructure for every village. But every village is entitled to the daily necessary trade, service and social facilities—from shops to children's facilities to high-standard restaurants. Through the joint work of all enterprises, institutions, and social organizations in the region conditions for this can be established step by step under the leadership of the local people's representative bodies. In many villages the LPG's and the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association have established bakeries, butcher shops, and cider-producing companies [mostereien], and we will continue to support these activities. Supplies in the countryside are to be improved by granting further tradesmen's licenses.

It is an important task of the party's leadership work to support the social organizations in the countryside. This particularly applies to the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association. Its various initiatives have to be directed even more toward tapping the economic potentials of the village and toward developing a vivid intellectual-cultural life.

Individual production as an important supplement to large-scale social production has developed into a firm part of socialist agriculture. In the future, too, we will continue to give this overall support. Smooth purchase of the products has to be ensured. Intensive work is being done to fulfill the tasks set by the 11th SED congress to establish 150,000 small gardens, including 20,000 in Berlin, by 1990. To date 41,000 small gardens have been given mainly to workers and families with several children. This situation shows that more speed is necessary. For this purpose, the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Breeders, together with the local organs, enterprises, and institutions, should establish local conditions to provide and develop appropriate areas.

The success achieved in further implementing our agricultural policy is decisively determined by how it is possible to closely link state management with the creative activities of the cooperative peasants and workers. State decisions are purposefully implemented when the kreis councils hold thorough discussions with the cooperative peasants and workers. New things in the application of scientific-technological progress and the enforcement of socialist economic management in the LPG's and state farms are to be generalized more quickly. Of course, this also puts higher demands on the qualification of all people working in the state apparatus. The councils for agriculture and the foodstuffs industry are increasingly better observing their organizing and inspiring role in the economic and social development in the region. The skeleton work order provides them with much leeway for their actions. Everything should be done to use this leeway to achieve high performance growth.

Close Interlacing of Science and Production—Part of Our Strategy [subhead]

Dear Comrades: At the Academy of Sciences and the other central scientific institutes, at the universities, colleges, and technical colleges of our country changes have been started which affect all scientific work, research, and advanced training. They are linked with the comprehensive implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the Politburo for the further perfection of basic and advanced training of college and technical college cadres, for the development of theoretical work and basic research, for the development and application of the key technologies, and for the development of productive relations between science and practical work, in particular in the combines.

These are tasks that require a higher quality of conceptual work in scientific strategy on the part of the academy and the university sector in cooperation with their partners in practical work. In particular the Academy of Sciences bears increased responsibility in working out far-reaching developments in basic research and the focal points and goals of scientific work that are important for the GDR.

It is particularly necessary to determine those main paths and tasks for basic research and for basic and advanced training which ensure fast advance—in line with our economic strategy—in top technologies toward products that can survive on the international markets. It is all the more necessary to achieve an efficient combination of scientific disciplines and scientific institutions and to concentrate the most capable cadres and the available top modern laboratory and equipment technology on selected focal points in research and teaching.

The relations between science and production have been developed in this direction for mutual benefit. We consider these relations of far-reaching importance. They are a firm part of our economic and scientific strategy. But not everywhere does their quality correspond to our possibilities and meet the objective requirements.

We think that there are great reserves in the combines and their partners in science working out together or in close coordination the strategy to accelerate scientific-technological progress. This is the only way long-term interlacing of science and production can grow, which comprises—in addition to research—joint responsibility for the establishment of a lead in training and for the material-technical basis of scientific work.

It is in the interest of the national economy that not only topics of applied research are being agreed on but to an increasing degree also topics of mathematical-scientific and technological basic research. The specific possibilities of scientific institutions are a result of the complexity of basic research and applied research, of the steady flow between the two, of the variety of scientific fields and their interaction. In particular these possibilities have to be made fully effective in the cooperation group. Experience shows that this is achieved best where combines develop their own basic research that corresponds to their characteristics.

I emphatically stress the responsibility of the academy and the universities and colleges for top achievements in selected fields of basic research, which provide access to further high technologies and yield high economic benefits in the long run. It would be myopic and would—in the long run—diminish the use of cooperation with the academy and the universities if basic research were neglected. Cooperation between the party organizations of scientific institutions and combines should be directed even more strongly toward the further shaping of a creative working climate, in which openness and courage to do new things characterize the performance behavior of the collectives.

Of course, the interlacing of science and production is not exhausted in research cooperation. It includes cooperation in training and use of students, in advanced training of university and technical school cadres, and the support of scientific institutions by the combines in securing the material-technical basis of teaching and research.

It is and remains the main task of the universities to put into practice latest scientific results mainly via the training and education of party-minded, skilled cadres that are intimately familiar with the party's strategy and tactics. Looking far beyond the present, it is necessary to answer in a productive way the question of how modern science has to be taught and studied today while taking into consideration its stormy development, its high dynamism, and its urge for innovations.

Initial steps have been made in determining top modern topics for training and the methods of how they can be taught in high quality and studied creatively and in organizing the studies in a way that corresponds to these demands. Now we have to advance purposefully and more speedily on this path so that the university and technical school sector of our country lives up to the requirements of the future.

On the agenda are a differentiated and flexible shaping of university training in order to be always able to take up, promote, and convey all new things in society, science, and technology. Typical characteristics of the individual universities with regard to teaching and research are to be further developed and particularly efficient potentials are to be developed prudently and concentratedly in selected universities and sections. The party leaderships have to pay attention to the training of experts.

This is posing supreme demands in particular on the teaching staff and the state managers, and also on the students and their FDJ collectives. It demands new approaches, the willingness to overcome outdated things, and the courage to embark upon unconventional paths—that is, militant positions and attitudes.

The most important concern of all social forces and in particular of the university teachers is, in our view, to further develop a clear class standpoint and the students' readiness to actively contribute with their performances during their studies and after their graduation to strengthening and protecting our socialist fatherland, to stand their test as fighters for scientific-technological progress. In this connection, much attention is to be paid to convincing ideological work, the development of the ability to think dialectically and to apply Marxism-Leninism to new questions. Therefore, the ideas and the power of conviction of lectures and seminars in basic Marxist-Leninist studies and the political-moral and ideological effectiveness of teaching in the technical disciplines have to be focal points for the party organizations.

The students have to go through a theoretically founded and practice-oriented training and they themselves have to be more active in shaping this training. They have to learn to recognize problems and to solve them, to react flexibly to new scientific findings, to derive conclusions from them, and to put them into practice. Willingness to work, discipline, collective spirit, ability to cooperate, readiness to accept responsibility, sensitivity, respect for the work of others, and a critical attitude toward one's own performance are essential characteristics, which have to be developed and put to the test to a much greater extent in difficult situations.

There cannot be any doubt that the example given by the university teacher is of decisive importance. If he includes his students with active contributions in the scientific life of the sections, in the cooperation with practical workers, in solving research tasks up to defending and putting into practice their results, then his struggle for new scientific solutions and findings for further social progress, for safeguarding a stable economic performance increase will leave permanent traces in the formation of students personality. This unmistakable and most beautiful task of a university teacher, which he is entrusted with at his appointment, is fulfilled with great commitment by the overwhelming majority of the university teachers.

The party leaderships and the leaderships of the youth associations should pay due attention to the problems, questions, and attitudes of the students in their daily studies. This applies both to the attitude toward their studies and to the social activities, the way of life in the hostel, and their intellectual-cultural interests.

Comrades: Closely linked with the party's policy, the GDR's sociologists are doing work that is rich in initiatives. On the tested basis of the Central Research Plan and in increasingly productive relations with practical work, valuable scientific-theoretical contributions to shaping the developed socialist society and to questions of peace and international development have been made.

In order to increase the performances of the social sciences and to efficiently utilize their potential, it is necessary to secure a high standard of theoretical work in every collective in a party-minded, critical, and progressive atmosphere, to increase the amount of ideas, the power of conviction, and the effect on the masses of the work results, and to achieve a visible practical benefit. In order to fully tap the rich treasure of experiences of our party and the fraternal parties, it is necessary to study and demonstrate the historical development even more thoroughly as an interaction of objective and subjective factors in the individual development stages of socialism. The party expects the social scientists to show creativity in broaching and solving new questions and to make contributions that not only interpret reality but further develop it in the spirit of strengthening socialism in the GDR. In this connection, such questions as the unity of political power, socialist property, and perfecting democracy, the deeply humanist nature of socialism, the interaction of productive forces and production conditions, and the solving of the manifold problems in connection with the scientific-technological revolution are of particular importance. The book "Socialism in the GDR—Social Strategy With a View to the Year 2000"

published by Dietz Verlag is a rich treasure trove for the thoughts and actions of all comrades. The topic of how and when socialist personalities are developing has to be sounded out even more thoroughly. In this connection, those areas of social life that are full of problems should not be overlooked.

The sociologists should demonstrate even more convincingly the meaning of socialism. As is known, it consists in doing everything for the welfare of the people, in guaranteeing full employment and social justice and protection for all working people and their families, in establishing conditions for the development of the creative forces of all classes and strata, in enforcing high political-moral demands everywhere, in shaping a life that is rich in culture, and in implementing the civil rights, the freedom and dignity of man. It is the assignment of Marxist-Leninist peace research to scientifically study the new approach to international security and disarmament, the new possibilities to achieve further profound disarmament steps, but also the complicated nature and severity of this struggle. Natural and technological scientists, military and social scientists are cooperating in this field.

The social sciences receive new tasks from the deeper penetration of the process of the world's revolutionary renewal under the conditions of peaceful coexistence, the worldwide effects of the scientific-technological revolution, the escalation of other global problems, and the increasingly closer, interactive relation between national and international developments. What is needed is a thorough analysis of the social contents of this process and the classes and movements working in it, of their objective situation, and their interests. We expect basic theoretical contributions that are rich in facts on the answers of socialism to the questions that concern humanity and intervention—convincing both in content and form—in the intellectual struggles of our time. Thus, the conviction is strengthened that the class interests of socialism as a social system fully correspond to the general human interests.

Socioscientific research always means revealing even more thoroughly the general regularities of development in society and in the world, and it also means discovering new seeds, elements, and trends, noticing in time new questions and dealing with them creatively, and presenting proposals for topical solutions and concepts for future development. For this purpose, the political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural processes which take place in reality have to be subjected to specific and overall analysis. It is necessary to consider even more thoroughly the dialectics of general regularities and national peculiarities and conditions.

The value of socioscientific work is measured more than ever before at its contribution to further shaping the developed socialist society and to strengthening the international attractiveness of socialism and its influence on world politics. For this the social scientists needs firm Marxist-Leninist positions and a clear eye for reality.

The Entire Society Considers Itself Responsible for the High Training and Good Education of the Young Generation [subhead]

Dear Comrades: Our political strategy for school affairs has stood its test and has yielded good results. In our children's education the humanist nature of socialist society is evident once more and the care of party and state for the welfare of the people becomes visible in a particularly impressive way. Work in the schools and the other public education facilities is taking place under the increasing demands that result from the further shaping of the developed socialist society and, last but not least, from the increasing number of children who have been accepted into kindergartens and schools over the past few years. The pedagogues are confronting these demands. It has to be noted that more than 80 percent of the pedagogues are women, and also 67 percent of the party secretaries in the pedagogue collectives.

Profound developments are taking place in the education sector on the basis of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. The concept of general education has been further developed with new syllabuses and textbooks. Teachers, pedagogical scientists, and scientists of other disciplines are actively participating in working out syllabuses and other teaching aids. Thousands of practical workers and scientists take the floor in the discussion about the syllabuses, the drafts of which are published in the pedagogical magazines.

The elections of parents' representatives in the 1987-88 school year were a convincing expression of the democratic participation in the training and education of the children. More than 2.5 million fathers and mothers elected from their midst 670,000 members to parents' advisory councils and parents' aktivs.

How the young people gain a solid education, how the pupils are educated to be good socialist citizens, how they learn to reach their goals through their own work and efforts and to solve problems decisively depends on the knowledge and skills, the political attitude, and the model function of the teachers. Through the purposeful work of the kreis leaderships, the school party organizations, and the state and trade union leaderships, teachers and educators have gained a deeper understanding of the party's policy, of the internal and external conditions in the further shaping of the developed socialist society, and have taken the appropriate steps resulting from this for the education and training of the young people and for the schools.

The kreis leaderships should continue to help the school party organizations, teachers, and educators to understand the complex of problems of the political, economic, and intellectual-cultural life of our society that are reflected in the schools and in the families so that they can answer the pupils' questions convincingly. Therefore, the kreis leaderships and school party organizations should always pay attention to the discussions about the basic questions of our time, the qualification for providing convincing arguments, and the support to advanced training of the pedagogues, in particular the qualified execution of the party school year.

It is the responsibility of the kreis leaderships and the school party organizations to make efforts in the schools—together with the pedagogues and the youth organizations—to select and prepare active FDJ members who are suited for the teaching profession. In this connection we think of Lenin's advice to train an army of teachers who are closely linked with the party and its ideas and who are imbued with its spirit. This is and remains one of the fundamental tasks of our party.

A teacher's work requires that he is thoroughly acquainted with the new findings in his fields and in education, that he knows the demands posed by the new syllabi, and that his teaching is of good quality and is technically, educationally, and ideologically well-founded. The first and most important priority for our secondary schools and our teachers is high-quality teaching. The kreis leaderships and the party organizations have to promote public opinion in such a way that the schools and teachers are measured by the quality of teaching, educational work, and the education of the young people. In this connection it is remarkable that during the elections of parents' representatives questions of the successful learning of boys and girls and their being taught to accept responsibility for the job of strengthening their socialist fatherland played a big role.

It is the task of the school party organizations and our party leaderships to provide a climate of openness, honesty, conscientious work, and comradely help in all educational facilities. It is necessary to better enable teachers and educators to work with pupils in an educationally well-thought out way and on the basis of firm political principles. We need a good working climate everywhere which is characterized by high demands on all and understanding for the problems and concerns of the individual.

This requires continuous talks with the teachers about their experiences, their achievements and things that have not yet been achieved, problems that have to be solved, and deficiencies that have to be overcome. The school party organizations decisively contribute to the development of a militant atmosphere in the teaching collectives by establishing a rich inner-party life and through the exemplary work of the comrades. High demands are posed in respect of the cooperation of school party organizations with the headmaster, the trade union organizations, the socialist youth association, and the elected parents' representative bodies. This cooperation is directed primarily toward the promotion of ideas, initiatives, and experiences of the teachers and educators and toward safeguarding all conditions for an effective and efficient organization of labor in public education institutions.

In this connection, the kreis leaderships should take into consideration that existing excessive activity for activity's sake has to be overcome. What matters is not a great number of events and measures but higher quality. The school's work cannot be measured by "external" activities but by its "main production," namely solid teaching by each teacher and his political and educational work with the pupils entrusted to him. The teachers and educators need time to carefully prepare their subjects in line with the new programs, time for advanced training, for broadening their intellectual-cultural horizons, and time for fruitful cooperation with the youth association and parents.

In 1986 and 1987 a total of 4,101 classrooms, 284 school gymnasiums, and 43,662 places in kindergartens were established. The 1988 plan targets have to be fulfilled with discipline. Maintenance of all public education facilities, including those built in the past, is becoming increasingly important. Measures to preserve our building stock are not second-rate tasks.

The local councils should direct their efforts toward making sure that children in kindergartens develop well so that mothers and fathers are able to concentrate fully on the tasks in their jobs. All local state organs must guarantee that the distribution of school meals to all children and pupils is improved or put in order. In this field there are shortcomings that must be put right in the interest of the children's healthy development.

It is an impressive achievement of socialism that the whole society feels a keen sense of responsibility for the high-standard training and good education of the young generation. The creation of the developed socialist society has given rise to new conditions for this and the readiness of broad social forces has visibly increased. In close cooperation with the socialist schools, the FDJ, and the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer Organization, today parents, working people in the enterprises and institutions, artists, cultural workers, members of the armed organs, members of friendly parties, and social organizations are conveying their experiences in struggle, work, and life to the young people.

I would like to particularly stress the utilization of the various possibilities provided by the socialist enterprises as sites of training and education of the pupils. In the future, too, attention must be paid to a solid polytechnical education in all combines, enterprises, and cooperatives. The need to acquaint young people with the demands resulting from science, technology, and production continues to gain importance. The enterprises

must make sure that the pupils are introduced to information science and computer technology and that they are included even more in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. After all, we no longer want to miss the various sponsorship relations between schools and enterprises, brigades and pupils. It is also of great sociopolitical importance that the working people know that their children are well cared for in holiday camps.

It remains the task of the kreis leaderships and the party organizations in all fields to provide goals and direction for the work of all social forces and to safeguard all conditions for qualified work in the public education institutions.

The Politburo and the Council of Ministers have decided to convene the ninth education congress on 12-15 June 1989 in Berlin. The congress will draw up a balance sheet on the implementation of the education concept of the 11th SED Congress and will discuss the tasks in further shaping the characteristics of the schools in the developed socialist society.

The convening of the ninth education congress has met with widespread agreement from teachers and educators and from all society and has given rise to new initiatives in public education institutions. The best preparation consists in the good daily work of all educators and the social partners of our schools. We expect the party and trade union leaderships to promote the educators' initiatives, to ensure that the best experiences become widely known, and to pursue a lively dialogue with teachers and educators.

Promoting an Interesting, Varied, and Inspiring Cultural Life Everywhere [subhead]

Dear Comrades: It corresponds to the humanist nature of the socialist society to do all it can to ensure the complete development of the individuality of its members. Art and culture can make a great contribution here. Therefore, we are trying to promote everywhere an interesting, varied, and inspiring cultural life that is characterized by the values and ideals of socialism. This naturally places high demands in respect to the ideopolitical work of the kreis leaderships, the raising of the standard of ideopolitical work with cultural workers and artists, holding personal talks, solving the tasks in the corresponding fields, and improving working conditions where necessary.

In a few months time the 22d GDR Workers Festival and the 11th Cultural Festival of Socialist Agriculture will take place in Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk. The preparation of these festivals and the festivals themselves give an important impetus to further raising the cultural standard of the workers class and its influence on socialist culture and arts. The kreis leaderships should continue to pay attention to operating a rich cultural life in the work collectives on the basis of cultural and education plans, to achieving an even higher standard at enterprise festivals, to the promotion of the people's cultural and artistic activities, and to deepening the relations between workers and artists. Particular attention should be paid to satisfying the cultural interests of shift workers.

The socialist village should have both high agricultural production and a lively intellectual-cultural life. In this spirit, care should be taken everywhere to ensure that teamwork between the village representative bodies and their councils, the LPG's, enterprises, and facilities, the social organizations, the National Front committees, and the village and youth clubs develops even more effectively on the basis of uniform annual cultural plans.

The Fourth Central Conference of the Heads of Clubs and Culture Houses again showed how inspiring these facilities are for meaningful leisure activities and how they contribute better and better to developing socialist personalities and their way of life. The kreis leaderships should have a greater influence on the content, quality, and effectiveness of events in the culture houses and clubs and support the local councils in utilizing all possibilities and rooms suitable for club work, irrespective of who is responsible for them. This applies in particular to providing a varied cultural life for the young generation.

In action programs of the kreis organizations the members of the GDR Cultural League have decided on many new activities to enable them to participate in a broad and democratic way in creating a rich intellectual-cultural life in order to implement the decisions of our 11th Congress. We welcome this initiative. The Cultural League should receive even stronger support so that the creative exchange of opinions on topical questions of our time can be conducted effectively in the local groups, clubs of the intelligentsia, club communities, societies, and associations. Even more members of the young intelligentsia from science, industry, and agriculture should be made interested in these meetings and talks.

Following the example of the "Days of Science and Culture," which take place in many kreise, it is necessary to inspire citizens to engage in varied intellectual-cultural activities. By establishing more friends' groups [freundeskreise] and interest communities, new possibilities for creative participation in the people's cultural activities can be tapped.

The GDR amateur artists are honorably fulfilling their pledges in the "Our Deed and Our Creativity for a Meaningful Life in Socialism and Peace" amateur art drive. More than 8,900 new programs works have been completed; 2,390 new amateur arts collectives have been established. Oriented toward the social highlights and the increasing demands of daily cultural life, amateur art activities have taken a further upswing in conveying the values and ideals of socialism and in cultivating the

humanistic and revolutionary heritage. On this foundation it is now necessary to purposefully continue the amateur art drive until the 40th anniversary of the founding of our Republic.

Arts and culture are highly appreciated in our country. Society's interest in artistic achievements is increasing to the extent that all organs and leaderships responsible for public education understand the arts as an indispensable part of our life and demonstrate and implement daily work with them.

At the 10th Writers Congress the wordsmiths were able to convincingly explain the social responsibility and effect of literature. The 10th GDR Arts Exhibition in Dresden is visited by hundreds of thousands of people and shows works of art that instigate debates about questions of life and the arts. Arts and literature increasingly influence the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the people. Their effect on the culture-minded behavior and esthetic feelings, on the development of creativity, zest for life, and imagination is undisputed.

An increasingly large part of the citizens of our countries receives the offer of contemporary literature and fine arts, music and theater, motion pictures, and entertainment, as well as the interpretation of the works of international art and the rich artistic heritage with appreciation and increasing interest. The experiences of the working people in dealing with artists in bezirke and kreise, which were mentioned at our session last year, have been suplemented. We are convinced that the experiences gained in this are being thoroughly evaluated and will have a stimulating effect on the preparation of the Congress of the Entertaining Arts in 1989, the 40th year of the GDR.

We should proceed from the premise that in all regions varied and interesting contacts with the arts and the artists are possible. In this respect the local facilities can be used even more efficiently and effectively. All the creative and material potential of the kreise and bezirke should be brought to bear even more purposefully.

With regard to living together with the artistic intelligentsia in the kreis and integrating them into social life, in particular the young artists, I would like to stress again that we have always been guided by respect and care for all artistic talent. We will continue to consolidate the trusting relations between our party and the artists and cultural workers and promote a creative atmosphere, which is favorable to the development of important artistic achievements.

The cultural highlights of cultivating our heritage and spreading it should be used purposefully in our country in order to anchor the valuable traditions even more soundly in cultural daily life and to gain stimuli for the thoughts, feelings, and actions of socialist personalities. Important cultural memorial days, among others for Bertolt Brecht, Hanns Eisler, and Friedrich Wolf, and the 500th birthday of Thomas Muentzer next year, offer manifold possibilities for introducing the revolutionary artistic and cultural heritage to the young generation in particular in a moving way.

The cultural assets that are actually present in the region are of great importance for the further deepening of the socialist awareness of one's homeland and its history, for the well-being of the citizens, and for the characteristic appearance and cultural profile of the towns and villages, kreise and regions. This applies to both the artistic and scientific treasures and to the values of the social coexistence of the people, the material witnesses of history, traditions in the customs, and the organization of traditional festivals.

This year it is important to make the cultural days of the GDR with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic into cultural highlights in our relations with these countries. Our own contributions to demonstrating cultural achievements of the host country but also joint cultural and artistic projects with partners from the fraternal country—including young artists—should characterize the cultural days.

Dear Comrades: The improvement of health services and social care for our citizens is one of our party's basic sociopolitical concerns and an integral part of our social strategy which focuses on man. On this basis, last year the Politburo dealt on various occasions with the situation in the health and social service sector and decided on measures for its improvement. They ensure the increasing social expenditure that is required to successfully utilize the scientifically-founded increased possibilities for preventing and combatting disease. There is a familiar expression that says that our health is our greatest asset. That is why quite a large number of people consider efficiency in the health sector and of the people working there an essential feature for the quality of life under socialism.

On the course outlined by the 11th SED Congress progress was also made in the medical and social services for our citizens. We highly appreciate the responsible and efficient work of many thousands of physicians, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, community nurses, teachers in cribs, workers in the old peoples homes and nursing homes and all other people working in the health and social sphere, who ensure particularly the material and technical aspect of health and social services. It is largely to their credit that the general health condition of the population is continuing to improve. This has manifested itself in, among other things, the reduction of the infant mortality rate to 8.5 percent per 1,000 births and in the reduction of sick leave. The increased number of complicated operations and many other services also testify to this. This became possible because the knowledge and ability of the medical workers has increased and because the material and technical conditions of their work have been improved. In the health sphere,

too, there is ample room for tapping reserves in overcoming unjustified differences in services and in using the existing personnel and material resources even more effectively everywhere.

It continues to be a question of placing emphasis on solving those tasks that are of particular importance for most of the citizens in daily life. This includes stable services by family doctors as the core of basic services which are to be ensured at the highest possible level in every kreis in the GDR. The corresponding resolution adopted by the Politburo in November 1987 is of strategic importance for the further performance increase in the health sector as a whole. The task that the kreise are now facing is to see to it that specific measures are taken to consistently implement the resolution. Particularly in large towns and conurbation areas it must be possible on this basis to install a larger number of specialists in general medicine who visit people in their homes, to make them permanent residents in the areas so that trusting relationships between the citizens and the health sector can be established. This requires a higher quality of ideopolitical work of the kreis leaderships, a higher quality of state leadership activities in the kreise and bezirke, and sets new standards for the qualified and coordinated leadership by the Health Ministry.

Another point of emphasis is the further development of preventive health care as a matter that concerns the whole society. This is in line with the well-known saying "prevention is better than cure" and does not only concern the health and social service sector. Of course it is primarily the physicians from whom we expect useful proposals for a healthy way of life, and who explain to the people how they can keep healthy and fit, thus achieving a higher quality of life.

Preventive health care is generally linked with the further development of the socialist way of life. As man's personality devel under socialism, the preservation of his health and efficiency should become an integral part of his way of life and culture. Therefore preventive health care includes winning the citizens over to a corresponding way of life. Television, radio, press, the FDJ, the trade unions, other social organizations, people's representative bodies, health and hygiene aktivs in enterprises, the Urania cultural organization, medical universities, hospitals, and many other institutions are making efforts to impart knowledge and motivation for this through increasingly efficient public information. The fact that issues concerning food, sports, and the prevention of bad habits are placed at the center of attention is in keeping with the conditions that prevail in the GDR and other industrialized countries. The most important thing is that citizens assume the responsibility for their own health.

To further improve medical services, it is necessary to reorganize medical and stomatological studies. This will be one point of emphasis in the work of the medical universities. Special attention is to be paid to the promotion of young scientific personnel and to the strengthening of basic biomedical research as well as to establishing a link with clinical research. All medical research is confronted with the task of better utilizing the potential that has increased meanwhile. It is a question of tapping all reserves in order to make possible achievements in medical research under favorable material and technical conditions and to increase the performance potential through improved cooperation and the more efficient utilization of basic assets.

During the last few weeks we received quite a number of critical hints and proposals from citizens and workers in the health and social service sector for improving the supply of many small things that are indispensable for the daily work in medical and social services. Therefore the Politburo has ordered the state organs to guarantee with the 1988 plan the stable supply of high-quality pharmaceuticals, medical equipment, medical consumption material, and other materials that are required for the functioning of the health institutions for the citizens and health institutions.

The efficiency of the GDR's medical industry is to be developed on a long-term basis in such a way that the requirement of consumption material and high-quality medical equipment is increasingly covered by its own production. Naturally we also expect a more economical use of the funds that are available. Through an even closer and more timely cooperation between medical research institutions and effective industrial partners, research results are to be applied in production at a quicker pace. The exemplary experiences the VEB Carl Zeiss Combine gained in cooperating with medical institutions, the Friedrich Schiller University, and other institutions are to be applied on a large-scale basis.

The kreis leaderships are to further increase their party control activity so that all tasks, stipulated in the plan and aimed at developing the health and social sphere, are fulfilled to the full extent. It is particularly important to create favorable conditions for medical services for the citizens in the new or renovated residential areas. Apart from medical clinics and large outpatients' departments, also smaller outpatients' departments, particularly for providing care by family doctors, are to be established. We support the initiatives aimed at the preservation or modernization of medical institutions. Good results are achieved where the local councils link this systematic work with the tapping of additional reserves through communal contracts or regional rationalization, such as in Auerbach, Bernburg, Gotha, or Zwickau.

By launching initiatives and developing fighting positions in the health institutions and by involving all social forces, particularly the GDR Red Cross, the quality and efficiency of the work are to be further increased. The target continues to be to make a sizable medical contribution to the efficiency and well-being of the citizens.

Every Citizen Has All Kinds of Opportunities for Good Work and Ample Room for Democratic Participation [subhead]

Dear Comrades: On the basis of the "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels and the insight that "the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) cannot free itself from the class by which it is exploited and oppressed (the bourgeoisie) without freeing all society for good from exploitation, oppression, and class struggles," (footnote) (Marx/Engels: "Selected Works," Berlin 1975, Vol 1, page 389) our party has linked the construction of socialism from the beginning with the task of establishing a firm alliance between the workers class and all other working classes and strata. This was in harmony with the vital interests of all, it was in keeping with the decisive lessons we learned from German history, and proved to be the basic requirement for the socialist revolution under the conditions obtained in our country. It was a matter of linking up with the revolutionary and humanist traditions that were alive in the struggle against fascism and war, with the motivations of the best of our people, and of opening up new social prospects for them.

The more effectively we actually realized the ideals of peace and freedom, of democracy and human dignity through stable power and property relationships, the more they became for all social forces the guidelines for their own participation and actions in strengthening the GDR as their common fatherland. In their social commitment for socialism, from the first hour of the antifascist-democratic new beginning up to today, the experiences of the revolutionary struggle of the German peasants and the concerns of liberal and bourgeois-democratic circles have been preserved in the same way as the traditions of Christian ethics [konsequenzen aus christlicher ethik].

The steady improvement of comradely and trusting relations between the workers class, the class of cooperative peasants, the members of the intelligentsia, and the other working people is and continues to be a cornerstone of the SED's social strategy. Every citizen, irrespective of social background, ideology or religion, has all kinds of opportunities for good work and ample room for democratic participation in our common cause. It will remain so in the future.

Starting from this premise, the SED devotes particular attention to cooperation with the allied parties, with all social forces united in the GDR National Front. Our collaboration is closer than ever before, and there is complete agreement on all issues concerning further social development. In all their activities, our fellow fighters allow themselves to be guided by the insight that the course that serves the well-being of the people and on which we have jointly been proceeding for more than 16 years is constantly placing higher demands on its parties in respect to social responsibility.

It is particularly in this spirit that the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National Democratic Party of Germany decided on the next tasks for their own contribution to the alliance at their party congresses last year. It is of particular importance that, according to their specific possibilities, they focus party work on questions concerning the scientific-technological revolution as well as the development and application of key technologies in industry and agriculture and that at the same time they concentrate to an increasing extent to the development of their traditional initiatives. This applies primarily to the efforts to further improve the repair, supply, and other services in the town and throughout the country, including the promotion of private tradesmen and merchants. We are glad about these activities and support them since they are keeping with the interests of all citizens.

In other spheres, too, the Democratic Peasants' Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the National Democratic Party, with a total of 466,000 members, are carrying out responsible work. Over 60,000 members of the allied parties are deputies in the people's representative bodies, nearly 50,000 occupy leading positions in industry and agriculture, in the health sphere, in science, education, culture, and other social spheres, and 88,000 work in committees and work groups of the National Front. Their words and deeds are respected everywhere.

We share the allied parties' view that joint work for the benefit of both society as a whole and each individual citizen will continue to develop favorably if it continues to be guided by the principle tested over decades: trust for trust. This is the focal point of the routine talks with the chairmen of the allied parties and the president of the National Front National Council. Each kreis leadership is requested to thoroughly discuss all basic political and ideological issues such as the tasks of local government policy at all times with the allied parties' leaderships and to implement them jointly in the regions.

The GDR National Front assumes a respected place in our society. Under the leadership of the workers class and our party, it developed into the broadest antifascist-democratic and ultimately the socialist people's movement which has made a considerable contribution to the creation and growth of our state. The National Front has earned great merit in providing a vast field of operation for cooperation between the parties and mass organizations and for the desire of the citizens to work together, plan together, and govern together.

We have great respect for voluntary work of the Communists, members of the allied parties, and nonparty members in the committees of the GDR National Front, their numerous work groups, commissions, and aktivs, as well as in the house and street communities [strassengemeinschaften]. It is their primary concern to work

as the citizens' representatives, to promote comradely cooperation in the residential areas and to be discussion partners for craftsmen and tradesmen, for church dignitaries and Christian circles.

The outstanding results in the implementation of the action program adopted by the National Front National Council last year, "Goals of the citizens' initiative through 1990—beautify our towns and villages—join in!" are an impressive demonstration of the affection and love of the citizens for their socialist fatherland. In 1987, for example, M11.5 billion worth of work on the maintenance of apartments and social facilities as well as on improving the environment was carried out from their own funds, more than 177,000 apartments for work veterans and citizens in need of help were renovated, 400,000 tonnes of scrap, and 290,000 tonnes of waste paper were collected in the households, and other material reserves were opened up.

We should efficiently support everywhere the initiatives of the National Front, particularly in implementing the housing program, with the experiences of the best towns and villages. We expect our comrades in the committees and house communities to set a good example.

Further Developing and Perfecting Socialist Democracy and the Tasks of Communal Policy [subhead]

Dear Comrades: The results of our local government policy furnish evidence on how useful the participation of citizens of all classes and strata in social affairs is developing. By using their comprehensive rights, the 206,000 deputies and 60,000 candidates of the local people's representative bodies, together with the 186,000 citizens who are working in permanent committees of the people's representative bodies, exert an influence on the decision-making process, the execution, and control of state work. A total of 7,500 full-time mayors in towns and villages and over 3,800 unpaid deputy mayors in villages and parts of village are doing their duty as representatives of the citizens. The local state organs are making use of the great scope for decisionmaking that results from the law on local people's representative bodies, in order to increase performance and steadily improve the working and living conditions in their regions. All this reaffirms that the main direction of the development of state power is aimed at the further development and perfecting of socialist democracy.

In this the communal policy helps tap the regional resources in a better way. Cooperation between the local state organs and enterprises, cooperatives and facilities in the regions are becoming more and more a key factor for the high quality of our the policy of local governments. Communities of interest and local government contracts are gaining in importance in all kreise. Basically it is a question of accelerated growth in the spheres that are directly controlled by the local organs, of achieving tangible improvements in the citizens' living and housing conditions and at the same time of creating more favorable regional conditions for improving performance in the centrally-administered combines and their enterprises. Kreis-administered construction and housing management, the local government service enterprises as well as the enterprises of the municipal services and regional transportation should profit to a larger extent from regional rationalization.

The local state organs bear great responsibility for dealing with the housing issue as a social problem. To achieve this, the whole potential of the regions, including the initiatives of the citizens and the potentials of the enterprises, cooperatives, and facilities, must be used. Particularly in the large and medium-sized towns, housing policy and housing management are to be coordinated more consistently. The examination by the Worker-Peasant Inspection of how the housing allocation decree [wohnraumlenkungsverordnung] is being observed by over 1,000 local councils, and evaluation of it by the Politburo, have provided interesting stimuli for the work in the kreise. Here the great value of people's control proved itself again and it became clear how important it is to promote the Worker-Peasant Inspection organization as an important area of socialist democracy.

However, the first results of the control are not sufficient. It is important to check applications for apartments on the spot, to conduct personal discussions, and to adhere strictly to the designated periods for approval or rejection of the application. A heightened sense of responsibility must be shown in assessing the degree of social urgency involved. The target plans confirmed by the people's representative bodies are binding and must be implemented. Workers families and young couples are to receive quicker support. The apartment exchange centers, linked with a removal service, assume an important role in the further improvement of housing conditions through voluntary exchange of apartments. Our kreis leaderships should see to it that the qualifications of the employees in the departments responsible for housing policy are increased and that party influence is enhanced. Favorable results have been obtained by providing detailed information about the housing issue in every kreis and by involving the trade unions and local housing conditions more actively. In view of the complicated situation regarding material and technical aspects of municipal services, the full potential of the local enterprises in the regions should be utilized for maintaining, repairing, and servicing the technical equipment and for producing rationalization means.

No matter which area of local government policy one considers, work is progressing more quickly in those areas where the citizens are informed about the policy of our party and the state and directly feel that they are influencing the course of events. Based on the party groups in the people's representative bodies, the kreis leaderships should promote close cooperation of people's representative bodies, local councils, and citizens. No important decision should be made in the area of

local government without its being thoroughly discussed with the citizens and deputies and without its having been decided in the people's representative bodies after thorough debate. More attention must be paid to observing the town and village regulations. On the basis of these regulations much can still be done to ensure order, cleanliness, and hygiene.

I would like to stress the knowledgeable and unbureaucratic way applications should be dealt with. Regardless of heavy work loads one must never forget that it is the duty of every responsible manager to personally talk with the citizens about their problems and to respond to their questions or suggestions in an unambiguous way that corresponds to the law.

The next local elections will take place in May 1989. In the long run the kreis leaderships should support the preparation of experienced, politically and technically well-trained cadres, in particular for the function of mayor. We proceed from the premise that, like us, the friendly parties are working to prepare candidates who will be able to face the judgment of the voters.

In our socialist state the stability of the law is steadily developing as a characteristic of socialism. The judicial organs of worker-peasant power are doing great work in this respect. As is known, the GDR has for a long time been one of the countries in the world with the lowest crime rate. Last year 114,815 crimes were registered, that is 690 per 100,000 inhabitants. Public commitment to legality, order, and discipline has increased. The citizens' willingness to accept responsibility for an atmosphere in which everyone can work and live in peace and safety has risen.

It is our permanent task to develop the achievements, to steadily consolidate order and safety, and to prevent violations of the law. Particular attention must be paid to recidivism and crimes committed under the influence of alcohol. At the same time it is necessary to promote the movement for exemplary order and safety as part of the socialist competition and the conscious respect for the laws of worker-peasant power by all citizens without distinction of person.

The successful carrying out of the amnesty demonstrates how we are able—thanks to the understanding cooperation of all responsible social forces—to reintegrate into society citizens who have come into conflict with the law. In the future, too, equal reintegration of former criminals into social life will require a great effort.

Owing to the dynamic development of our society, the responsibility and the duty to reliably guarantee the protection of the national economy and of socialist property are growing. Fires, breakdowns, accidents, and crimes are still causing considerable damage to the citizens' life and limb, to public property, and to personal property. The following figures clearly show the losses for our national income. In 1987 fires alone caused losses worth M130.7 million. Even though this sum is lower than the one the previous year, the tendency continues that only 1 percent of the fires cause two-thirds of the overall damage. In addition, follow-up damage is often more than 20 times higher than direct damage by fire. Follow-up costs of all road accidents last year are estimated at M980 million. Crimes caused losses worth M302 million.

Year after year our national income experiences losses of billions of marks. This stresses the rising demands in respect to safety, order, and vigilance, which face the leaderships at all levels and even every comrade. We must not tolerate carelessness, violations of discipline, and disorder anywhere. The struggle to prevent damage must be pursued more energetically.

Dear Comrades: At the 11th SED Congress we noted in the Central Committee report that the steadfast efforts to do all we can to ensure that women are able to fully assume their equal rights have yielded gratifying results and have proved to be correct. This is also confirmed by the most recent developments. In addition to the proportion of working women or women in training, which remains constant at 91.9 percent, we consider their rising social commitment worthy of particular emphasis. This is particularly reflected in the trade unions as was shown by the preparation and course of the 11th FDGB Congress. Not only are more than half the trade union members women—53.1 percent, that is more than 5 million—but they also participate in fulfilling all trade union tasks, which are by no means small.

Women's activities in organizations such as People's Solidarity, the German Red Cross, the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Breeders, and, of course, in the Democratic Women's League deserve great appreciation. Their participation is also steadily increasing in the engineers' organization, the Chamber of Technology. One cannot imagine doing without the women's work as deputies in our people's representative bodies, in the parents' representative bodies of the schools, in consumer advisory councils, and in the National Front Committees. We are pleased to note that female comrades in particular are the ones who carry others along and do pioneering work with the power of their political conviction.

Thus, we see that we have achieved social equality between men and women, which—in contrast to the capitalist world—exists not only on paper. In other words, the course of the unity of economic and social policy, which has been directed from the very start toward establishing better conditions for making job and motherhood compatible, has brought a clear change in the woman's social standing and has, last but not least, encouraged a stable birth rate.

The increased efforts to entrust leadership functions to women also have to be considered in this light. We all certainly know that this process is still in full swing. The

more conscientiously the party leaderships continue to include all corresponding tasks in their leadership work, the more success will be achieved.

Women represent a large social force. The achievements to date confirm this recognition, which has always been acknowledged by our party. It will prove to be of great worth also in the future.

Supreme Principle of Our Military Doctrine: To Preserve Peace and Prevent Arms From Being Used [subhead]

Comrades: The members of the National People's Army, the Border Troops, the Civil Defense, the German People's Police, and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of National Defense, and the State Customs Administration are fulfilling the class assignment of the 11th SED Congress with great commitment. To preserve peace and to prevent arms from being used is the supreme principle of the socialist military doctrine and the humanist meaning of being a soldier in socialism. The certainty that it is possible to preserve peace is increasing with the successes of our peace strategy and the growth of the peace forces and this for its part encourages the citizens' readiness for defense. They are aware that the first steps toward disarmament do not mean capitulation by those who still want to force their will upon the world by means of armament and war.

The GDR's safety against military attacks is guaranteed within the framework of the defense coalition of the Warsaw Pact through the combat readiness of the National People's Army and the GDR Border Troops in close comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Union and the fraternal armies of the other socialist countries. The defense potential of the Warsaw Pact states forms the counterweight to the threat emanating from the NATO forces, which are capable of aggression. In this respect, the FRG Bundeswehr provides the main part of the troops at the GDR border.

The GDR's alliance obligations in the Warsaw Pact include keeping the armed forces in appropriate combat readiness and equipping them in line with modern requirements and economic possibilities. The plan contains the necessary means. In national defense, too, greater efficiency can be reached only by means of intensification.

In determining the level of combat readiness and on national security requirements, changes in the situation of the class struggle, scientific-technological findings, and political-moral factors have to be taken into consideration at all times. The Politburo decision of 11 June 1985 continues to be the long-term guideline for the party organizations in the armed forces and in the protection and security organs with regard to training in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

As is known, service in the armed forces is not easy. It requires a high degree of political awareness. At the same time it involves considerable material expenses. But preventing war presupposes not tolerating the superiority of an aggressor or a surprise attack. Therefore we need combat-ready armed forces and dedicated comrades who know why they are doing military service and who are willing to go beyond the call of the law.

It is an important success of our political work that in last year's recruitment 38.9 percent of the inductees were willing to become short-service volunteers or professional soldiers. We support the efforts of the leading comrades in our army, in the protection and security organs, and in the party organizations to make more rapid progress in improving the service, working, and living conditions of the professional cadres in particular and in shaping military service. The local state organs will support these activities.

After its eighth congress, the Society for Sport and Technology increased its performances in premilitary training and military sports. Attacks on our national border have gained increasing importance in the concepts of the enemy. During the 1987 NATO fall maneuvers alone, 17,000 soldiers of the U.S. Third Army Corps, who were flown to the FRG, were specially instructed directly in the area at the GDR border. In order to thwart the enemy's plan and not permit any attacks on the national border, it is indispensable to ensure the coordinated cooperation of all responsible organs and the trusting participation of the citizens living at the border. The guidelines of the Central Committee Secretariat for work in the border area are to be comprehensively followed.

The workers militias started the new training year with the competition slogan "Our Deed for Peace: High Achievements at the Workplace and in Training." The kreis leaderships pay attention to the political stability of all units, to providing full personnel, and to developing the cadres according to plan well into the 1990's. The projects on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the workers militias are part of the political work among the masses and are to prove that no one has a chance to encroach upon the achievements of the worker-peasant power.

In the party organizations of the People's Police kreis offices it is necessary to enable the Communists to guarantee peace, order, and security under all conditions. Particular attention has to be paid to ideopolitical training and the further qualification of our policemen for work close to the citizens. The honorary work of the voluntary helpers of the People's Police, of the FDJ groups for the maintenance of public order [ordnungsgruppen], of the comrades of the voluntary fire brigade, the members of the traffic security aktiv, and of the other social forces is indispensable.

In implementing our economic strategy, the responsibility of Civil Defense to make an even greater contribution to ensuring production, making supplies reliable, and limiting damage in case of accidents is growing.

Active ideopolitical work in the party organizations of the state security organs contributes to making the members better live up to the political character of their work, to the requirements of the peace offensive, the policy of dialogue, and to today's conditions of the class struggle. The most important task continues to be the timely discovery and thwarting of the enemy's intentions and plans to harm the GDR's successful development, and to make sure that the GDR is not surprised by the enemy. Subversive activities are to be nipped in the bud and are to be prosecuted on the basis of socialist law.

The comrades of the State Customs Administration are making great efforts to implement the measures and alleviations set down for border-crossing tourist and postal traffic, and to prevent their being abused. Every comrade of our party must be a model in observing the laws. Under the conditions of the GDR's openness to the world, a decisive assignment of the customs officials continues to actively combat smuggling and speculation, and by means of preventive actions, avoid harm to our state.

In 1987 alone, more than 10 million people traveled from the GDR to the FRG and vice versa within the framework of the broadened visitors' traffic. It has been noted that the responsible FRG authorities do not want to remember that the high costs of transportation which we had to pay to the FRG railroads in marks and pfennigs were particularly expensive for the GDR due to the split in the currency caused by the West. There are attempts to abuse tourist traffic for ideological deviations and other subversive actions.

To Win Over More and More Citizens For Sport [subhead]

Comrades: Tomorrow the 15th Winter Olympic Games will be festively opened in Calgary. In our age the olympic games are more than ever outstanding athletic and cultural events. They correspond to the striving of the youth of all continents for fair athletic meetings, for understanding, and for the preservation of peace. Since entering the olympic arena more than 30 years ago, the GDR's sports have always been guided by the olympic ideals, and our olympic athletes have proved to be worthy representatives of their socialist fatherland. This year, too, the GDR olympic team has gone to Canada well prepared. We know that the requirements in the competition for the highest laurels in sports have not diminished. Today athletes from many countries are undergoing unprecedented, thorough training for the international athletic highlights, and in particular for the olympic competitions.

It is known that, in exercising its responsibility, the GDR National Olympic Committee has reported to the International Olympic Committee the participation of the GDR team in the 24th olympics. We welcome this decision and proceed from the premise that the GDR's athletes will attain high athletic achievements under the complicated conditions in Seoul.

In accordance with the increasing importance of competitive sports in further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR and the requirements of the international development of sports, on 27 October the Politburo confirmed the "Guideline for the Future Development of Competitive Sports in the GDR Through the Year 2000." It provides directions for making sure that the GDR will maintain its place among the world's leading nations in sports in the future. The tested system of competitive sports is to be perfected and made even more effective. This increases the responsibility of the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation [DTSB], its sports associations, the sports clubs, and the public education institutions.

As is known, solving future tasks in competitive sports starts with selecting young athletes for the training centers. In this connection, the unity of communist education and athletic training is to be ensured at a high level. All possibilities are used for the purposeful and, at the same time, careful development of the performances of athletically talented girls and boys, in accordance with their ages.

Based on the commissions for young athletes, the kreis leaderships should help to overcome differences in the standards of the training centers. This year's Spartacus Games in the kreise are to be comprehensively prepared in order to include even more pupils from the respective age groups. In the sections of the sports associations, conditions have to be perfected so that more children and adolescents can participate in athletic life all through the year.

The increasing influence of science and technology on the people's way of life and their habits, and the mastering of top-level technologies in the production process, which also set new physical demands, have an effect on the citizens' interests and needs for active physical and athletic activities. This is to be better met with the broad availability of athletic activities from the DTSB and its allies. In particular, forms of athletic activities should be promoted for which there are good opportunities in the regions.

The kreis leaderships should encourage the DTSB and FDGB executive committees, as well as the FDJ and the state leaderships, to include in the long run, if possible, all enterprises of the region—both medium-sized and small ones—in the preparation of the kreis sports festivals of the working people. Greater attention is due to the local competition systems, in particular the kreis championships of the individual athletic disciplines

In short, Comrades, support the DTSB Kreis Executive Committees in steadily strengthening and consolidating the socialist sports organization, in winning over more and more citizens for regular athletic activities, and in living up to their responsibility for selecting athletic talents, promoting them in the training centers, and sending them to children's and youth sports schools and to sports and soccer clubs.

Our Party's Big Battle-Tested Collective Is Up to Date [subhead]

Dear Comrades: How the party organizations live up to the requirements in all social areas decisively depends on their militant strength, on the atmosphere in the party collectives, and their attractiveness for all working people. Since our 11th SED Congress the party has further grown and matured because of its tasks. Its development as a living organism is proved by a great number of facts and also in the report on SED membership development in 1987, which was published by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

One is justified in saying that our party's big, battle-tested, and experienced collective is up to date. Closely gathered around the Central Committee and acting concertedly, it considers its supreme duty to be to serve the interests of the workers class, all working people, and the welfare of the people. The kreis leaderships are making a considerable contribution to this and, at the same time, this results in a continuously more demanding yardstick for their political leadership activity. They in particular have to instruct and support the basic organizations in such a way that they reach optimum results in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and of the Central Committee.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that an economical work style that is close to life and concentrated on focal points, and that includes a convincing explanation of our party's policy and the inclusion of all comrades and all working people in solving social tasks yields optimum results. Every Communist is expected to convincingly represent the party's policy and its good results and arguments and to try, in word and deed, to set an example in implementing our general line. All party members bear responsibility for making the citizens understand the situation, what is necessary to do, and what conclusions result from this for the people's own actions as GDR citizens.

What Is Important in Ideological Work Now [subhead]

It is of fundamental importance to steadily further raise the standard of the party's ideopolitical work. We can proceed from the people's great open-mindedness, from their lively interest in domestic and foreign policy, and their readiness to do good work for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

First, it is necessary to make the inseparable unity of socialism and peace clear. Only socialism has a peace program whose implementation leads to the elimination of all nuclear weapons, to arms limitation, disarmament, and to the creation of a system of international security. Therefore, we should use all opportunities to acquaint all GDR citizens with this socialist peace program, to disseminate it abroad, and to conduct the dialogue on the basis of it.

In all key ideological positions the intensity of the struggle for peace requires such steadfastness of principles as will enable us to guarantee great flexibility and wide latitude of action in the struggle for peace and social progress. Peaceful coexistence never means ideological coexistence.

Second, the results of the political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural development of the GDR in the wake of the eighth party congress must be tangibly proven on the basis of facts, so that it is clear that our present achievements are the fruit of the hard struggle, important initiatives, and great efforts of our workers, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia, and the other working people under the party's leadership.

There is not the slightest reason to hide our successes in the sociopolitical development of the GDR and in strengthening its international position. We have no need to apologize to anyone for the successes we have achieved in the social, economic, scientific-technical areas, and in the area of democracy. Our policy of reform begun in 1971 has borne and continues to bear fruit. The policy then adopted, aimed at comprehensively intensifying the national economy, the essence of which is scientific-technical progress, has proven to be correct and has been a success. Each year we register a high growth rate in the national income. We have no unemployment, but full employment. We are implementing a housing construction program, as well as many other sociopolitical measures which ensure a better standard of living for millions of citizens. Our performance in the educational, health, and social sectors, as well as in the area of culture, physical education and sports, and in other social areas has also won international recognition.

Therefore, we need not hide our achievements. On the contrary, thanks to our Marxist-Leninist policy, in our ideological work we can proudly point out the socialist achievements, without concealing that we still have great tasks to cope with and that many things in our daily life and social relations have to be straightened out.

Third, it is the duty of ideological and theoretical work to explain economic strategy comprehensively and thoroughly, and especially the need for the development and application of key technologies.

Only thus will we be able to grasp the law of the "economy of the times," encourage economic thinking, and win the technology battle. Our party program states:

"Wherever the Communist works and lives he will consistently advocate the fulfillment of the main task and will actively and commendably promote creative initiative, a high-minded attitude to work and state property, and to all socialist ways of thinking and conduct."

We should establish a closer link between the ways and means of carrying out the scientific-technical revolution and the question of human rights. The fact that scientific-technical progress in socialism serves people's well-being, health, and cultural needs is an expression of secure human rights. Conversely, there are the serious social consequences of scientific progress in capitalism, unemployment, new poverty, and a massive and systematic violation of human rights.

Fourth, we should demonstrate more convincingly how social and cultural rights are ensured in socialism. They did not have to be obtained through the struggle against the state and employers, but were achieved through close and reliable cooperation among all classes, strata, and social groups. They have been achieved for all citizens, without anyone being excluded. There is no social degradation, there are no "peripheral groups" and "social outcasts." Socialism needs all people and there is room for all. Social and cultural rights are not only "collectivistic principles" as the opponents often maintain, but a real opportunity for each individual to live a useful life in social security and safety.

As for political and individual rights in socialism, there is no reason whatever for restraint in political-ideological work. In this, too, socialism is so much superior to capitalism. We should not leave our opponents any free play in this area. Marx has proven that freedom and human rights are not abstract notions, but concrete class questions. The question that is always at stake is: Freedom, democracy, and humaneness for a minority of exploiters and profit-makers or for the majority of the people.

Even well-meaning discussion partners and allies are sometimes of the opinion that socialism has a great deal to offer in the area of the economy, science, the universe, and social and cultural rights, while capitalism is still ahead of it in the area of political and individual rights, and in democracy. Therefore, we have to do better in demonstrating the operation of socialist democracy "in action," in enterprises, cooperatives and schools, in residential areas, and in the activity of parties and mass organizations and unions. In point of fact, it is through the creative work of the people's masses, under the party's leadership, that it was possible for the GDR to be created as it is today, and will be tomorrow and in the future.

This holds true also for the so-called individual rights and freedoms, which under socialism, contrary to all imperialist distortions, are of great value, namely the right to the inviolability of the individual, of freedom, and of dignity, and the right to the protection of these rights, the right to respect for, protection, and promotion of marriage and the family, freedom of conscience, of creed and confession, the inviolability of postal and telephone commmunications, freedom to move about, the right to personal property, and comprehensive protection of the law for each citizen. It is under socialism that these rights were achieved for the first time in history as an expression of the common basic interests of the individual and society.

It goes without saying that human rights in socialism also imply civic duties. This we should not hide, just as we should not hide the fact that the "right" to violate laws will never exist no matter how the opponent desires this. Implementing human rights in our country means participating in the construction of socialism.

Fifth, ideological work requires constant vigilance to prevent the penetration of anti-Marxist and antisocialist bourgeois ideologies. Lenin's principle is and has always been valid: either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no alternative. It is the duty of the Communists to firmly oppose attacks against the party policy and the socialist state of workers and peasants, and to combat distortions and falsifications of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the history of the revolutionary workers movement, no matter from where they come.

Sixth, ideological and theoretical work requires, as our party program stipulates, "offensive and conclusive argumentation about all aspects of the ideology and politics of imperialism." It is obvious that the opponents of disarmament and detente, the enemies of socialism are making the utmost efforts to manipulate the masses in capitalist countries in the direction of anticommunism and to influence the ideology of socialist countries.

Staggering Violation of Human Rights in Capitalist Countries [subhead]

For this purpose a large-scale campaign about alleged violations of human rights in socialist countries was stirred up, although anyone can convince himself through various news channels, that the violation of human rights is customary in capitalist countries, the FRG, and the Middle East in the most shocking and staggering way. As recent documents published by the Vatican—based on data provided by conferences of bishops from 60 countries—show, 1 billion people, that is 1/5 of the earth's population, have no decent housing. One hundred million people have no housing and 600 million are vegetating in slums. These figures speak for themselves. Nevertheless, various politicians and ideologists in the FRG still launch vile slanders against our party and against the GDR. These people run through the whole range of untruthful propaganda in order to divert attention from the weaknesses and crimes of imperialism and mislead the masses, and they dig out the whole moth-eaten nationalist and revanchist scum. Those who use it have obviously lost their sense of

historical truth and reality. The danger is, however, that especially the citizens of the FRG create a historical picture that trivializes Nazism and consciously stirs antisocialist instincts.

We must not overlook this in our political-ideological work, especially if one bears in mind that these activities are generated by a defensive position. While we can justifiably say that the GDR's policy consistently aims at the people's well-being, that it defends the right to peace, guarantees the right to work through full employment, that it ensures equal chances of education, and guarantees the right to participate in state and social affairs, the situation in capitalism is as follows: mass unemployment, the ruin of the working peasantry, tradesmen, and small and medium businessmen, cutbacks in social benefits, exhorbitant rents, homelessness, racism, prohibition to pursue one's profession, attacks on trade unions, and persecution of Communists and of peace-loving people.

The current situation also compels our Marxist-Leninist sociologists to intensify their theoretical work and to supply the party's ideological struggle with even more conclusive topical and dynamic contributions in words and pictures. The central plan for sociological research up to 1990 includes clear guidelines in this respect.

Today's meeting also represents a call on each Communist, on all leaderships and basic organizations, on all comrades in the state apparatus, and on all sociologists to raise the ideological and theoretical work to a higher level and to launch an offensive of the ideas of peace and socialism.

Closely Linked With the People To Realize Their Interests [subhead]

Comrades: For us every step in building socialism is a step into a new world, linked with the search for the most usable solutions in line with the specific national and historical conditions. This is as true today as it was yesterday, even though today it is taking place on a much higher social level. Lenin's words that a revolutionary party faces the task "of applying the general and fundamental principles of communism to every particular feature of the relations between the classes and parties, to every particular feature in the objective development toward communism present in each individual country" are highly topical. (Footnote) (Works, volume 31, page 76)

Thus, our party's theoretical and practical work will continue to be determined by outlining in a timely way the paths and goals of shaping the developed socialist society, by winning the people over to them, and by putting decisions into practice together with the people. To a greater extent than to date, the relations between the people and the entire wealth of intellectual and cultural life will develop in close interaction with high labor productivity. Over almost 4 decades our party has developed a system of political and economic leadership that fully corresponds to the GDR's specific conditions, and it is steadily perfecting this. By living up to its responsibility for the GDR people, our party is making its contribution to further increasing the attractiveness of socialism in the world and to safeguarding peace.

As we continue along our way we are open to all new things and to all experiences and solutions that serve the welfare of man. Proceeding from the current state of affairs and knowing our own responsibility, it is necessary to create an atmosphere in which initiative flourishes. Working to establish such a creative climate everywhere includes dealing with the people in a comradely and trusting way, as well as including them in our projects and plans from the very start, and informing them in a timely and thorough way about everything that concerns their life. No one will contradict this. But are there not some who consider this only a formal, not to say obnoxious, duty? Of course, it needs some effort to thoroughly inform all citizens, to convince them, and to take into consideration their proposals and objections. But on the one hand, decisions can only become better because of this, and on the other, one gains activities to implement these at the preparation stage. Last but not least, this promotes the willingness to jointly discover the reasons for the high, exemplary results of some and for the lagging behind of others, and to make valuable things the general property of all. Appreciation is to be expressed publicly for things that deserve praise, and critical remarks have to made where they are necessary. Today the problems caused by the mass use, so to speak, of key technologies deserve particular attention. The faster technological changes take place, the more important it is to pay attention to the people's concerns in party work. Technological change causes many problems in their work and in daily life in general. I think, for instance, of the necessity to learn to do new things and to learn to do things differently. The value of some knowledge diminishes, while different knowledge is required. Or let us take shiftwork, the effects of which are known to reach into family life. Computers can make work more interesting but, where working conditions are not monitored carefully enough, work can become monotonous and even hardships can turn up.

It is common knowledge that socialism is based on the creativity of the masses. This knowledge is not put into practice automatically. It requires the guidance of the party, its ability to pave the way—in close connection with the people—for the realization of the people's interests.

Internal and external conditions cannot be separated in this struggle. One always has to keep in mind the fact that we are building socialism in our country while remaining open to the world. Our policy is known far beyond the borders of our country and every citizen has a very clear picture of the situation in the world. This has always given additional, strong stimuli to the party's

work of never to stop, even when something has been achieved, to answer the people's questions, and to actively counter attempts to interfere by the Western side.

On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that the struggle for peace gives rise to several new questions that have to be accurately assessed. Disarmament, arms limitation, and the policy of peaceful coexistence can solve the contradiction between the nuclear threat and mankind's will for peace, but this does not eliminate the class conflict between socialism and imperialism. More than ever before, this conflict touches upon all areas of politics, economy, culture, and in particular ideology. There can never be a "cessation of hostilities" in this field.

Since the social systems of socialism and capitalism will apparently exist side by side for some time, it is necessary to do everything to ensure that, in the nuclear age, the conflict between them of historic importance for the world is pursued peacefully, without military means. Of course, this striving for civilized forms of struggle does not mean that the two social systems converge or that their basic social contradictions are blurred. Thus, in the future too, the waves will run high sometimes. One always needs a cool mind and a firm standpoint. We can advocate our cause with the conviction that we are advancing in spite of all the vicissitudes of the struggle, and that the future belongs to our cause.

We Are Looking Toward the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR [subhead]

Comrades: We all know that history is a great teacher. We are dealing with it from the viewpoint of today and tomorrow. Our party and our people stand in a long revolutionary and humanist tradition of century-long struggles for social progress, freedom, and the rights and dignity of man. We are firmly rooted in history.

At the end of this year, 7 decades will have passed since the founding of the KPD. Founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in the fire of the November Revolution and under the influence of Red October, tempered as a Marxist-Leninist party of the masses under Ernst Thaelmann's leadership, it set itself the task—loyal to its revolutionary traditions—of gaining work, bread, and peace for the entire people. In our worker-peasant state, things have been fulfilled for which the Spartacus fighters risked their lives 70 years ago and for which inconceivable sacrifices were made by the antifascist resistance fighters during the night of Hitlerite fascism. In the history of our Thaelmann party we find vivid examples of heroic deeds by steadfast Communist revolutionaries. Their courage and their readiness to make sacrifices, their will and their close affinity with the CPSU and the country of Lenin, as well as with the other fraternal parties, laid the first stone for socialism in our country.

We are already looking toward the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. Under the leadership of the SED, our people have gone through a period that is filled with the struggle for work, with success, and with experience. A flourishing socialist state has been established on German soil that is a real alternative to the system of capitalist exploitation. We are justifiably proud of this. We consider it a permanent task of ideological work to pass on this pride and the knowledge of this historic process to the coming generations.

Attempts to deny or ignore the realities that have developed in the wake of World War II and during the postwar period are useless. Historical truth is incorruptible. When the FRG was founded on the order of the Western powers, this was done expressly in violation of the stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement. The circles around Adenauer who were again in power at that time acted according to the motto "It is better to have half of Germany for sure than all of Germany by half" and thus gave up any chance of following another path. However this may be, today there are two independent, sovereign German states, which differ in their social systems and alliance memberships like fire and water. This reality is part of European security and is considered unalterable by the peoples.

To include events from the past is in line with our approach to the revolutionary, progressive, and humanist heritage. Therefore, we will pay tribute to the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, the 175th anniversary of the 1813-14 Liberation Wars, and other historic events. All these traditions, to which we feel deeply bound, have to be used to further develop the awareness of history.

Press, radio, and television make a responsible contribution to propagating our ideology and policy. They live up to the high demands in ensuring comprehensive domestic and foreign policy information, help to convey the most progressive experiences in all social fields, and provide convincing arguments, which includes actively dealing with foreign or inimical views.

By reflecting on the entire range of social life in socialism and giving the floor to citizens from all classes and strata, the mass media themselves are an important part of our socialist democracy. In an imaginative and dedicated way, they are to show how the working people are struggling for high performances and how they solve problems and overcome obstacles with militant attitudes. For this purpose, continuous close cooperation between the mass media and the social partners is necessary. This is also necessary to provide comprehensive and rapid public information on questions that concern the citizens.

The experiences of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, television, radio, the ADN news agency, and all other media show that the better they make use of their specific means and possibilities, the more effectively they can

meet the needs of all levels of our people for information, education, and entertainment. This particularly applies to radio and television, which have to compete in the ether every day, even every hour.

The tasks of our time require Marxist-Leninist education to be of high theoretical standard and to be closely linked with life at all times. Our party has always stressed how important it is to master the theory and method of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Because, as Lenin wrote: "Marx's teachings are omnipotent because they are true." (Footnote) ("Works," Volume 19, p 3)

Our ideology and the policy, experiences, and history of our party form the content of education and training. This work should be directed even more toward equipping all Communists to consistently implement party decisions in daily life, to further consolidate the militant strength of the basic organizations, and to perform effective ideopolitical work among the masses. It is a great demand on all educational institutions of the party and on the party school year to make sure that the comrades learn to independently apply the basic insights of Marxism-Leninism to the present.

The Central Committee highly appreciates the dedication of the kreis leaderships secretariats to training. Thanks and high appreciation go to all propagandists. One of the most important tasks is to always support them in party work with information about new party decisions and the situation in the region and by relating past experiences. The participants in the lecture cycles for leading cadres should consider it their duty to immediately pass along the things they learn to their party and work collectives.

"FDJ Pledge GDR 40"—A Clear Concept for the Work of the Youth Association [subhead]

Comrades: With the "FDJ Pledge GDR 40," the FDJ has a clear concept for its further work. As I stressed at the meeting with the members of the Central Council and the kreis first secretaries of the FDJ, it can count on the help of all our party leaderships.

The young people are growing up in a politically eventful time and, therefore, have many questions that derive from the ideological conflict between socialism and capitalism and from the struggle for peace. One of these questions, for instance, concerns our forming a coalition of reason and realism with forces whose ideological and political position is often very much different from our own. Again and again, we have to explain the dialectic interactions of all this through specific, topical examples. The appropriate language will be found if we keep in mind the conditions under which the young generation is growing up in our country.

From the start of their conscious life, they are accompanied by the advantages of the socialist society and, therefore, many things are natural for them. The young people are characterized by their high education, political interest, and striving to use every opportunity to acquire information. They have already gained experiences in social practice, and they are forming their own views. They accept well-founded arguments and want their hearts and minds to be stimulated. In political work with the youth, it is particularly very important to demonstrate in life those things one advocates during discussions and to have deeds match words.

It remains a decisive concern to acquaint the young people in a convincing way with the ideals and goals of the communists, the basic truths of Marxism-Leninism, and the achievements of our socialist society. We want to help them understand the struggle and efforts that have been necessary to establish today's quality of life and to defend our revolutionary achievements. This knowledge about the life of our republic will deepen the young people's respect for the things achieved by former generations—their parents and grandparents—and will promote their personal readiness to continue our revolutionary cause. It is a permanent task of all members and candidate members of our party to conduct trusting political talks with the youth.

All experiences confirm our party's principle to fully trust in the young people and to entrust to them with great responsibility. We support the FDJ in its goal to include more and more young people in its economic initiatives in implementing our party's economic strategy. The focal point is comprehensive participation by the young people in mastering the scientific-technological revolution. Therefore, the party organizations should work to further develop the quality of the "Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow" movement in enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, universities, and technical colleges. It is particularly necessary to better meet the willingness for performance on the part of the young working people and students with challenging tasks from the science and technology plans.

The more than 5,400 FDJ youth research collectives have developed into indispensable assets of the scientific-technological revolution. Their desire to achieve top performances within the best times should be supported more effectively. Just as all participants in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, the members of the FDJ youth research collectives, consider it the highest recognition of their work if the solutions and research results are quickly applied and subsequently used in a comprehensive way. Preconditions in this field have to be checked and established in a more responsible way.

With the "Youth Brigades' Meeting" in April of this year, the FDJ is following the great traditions of the young activists' movement. In this way it will give today's more than 45,000 youth brigades an important impetus for their achievements in socialist competition

and as cadre training institutions for the workers youth. The youth collectives can only cope with this if they get a detailed breakdown of plan targets, if their struggle to meet competition responsibilities is universally supported, and if all are led by the standards of the best in the comparison of achievements.

With all this, the intellectual, athletic, and touristic tasks, which the more than 10,000 youth clubs have to especially take into account, are increasing. This is with good reason, because the FDJ is advocating an atmosphere in all clubs that corresponds to the socialist way of living, while taking into account the various leisure interests of the young people and meeting the great demand for high quality social life and entertainment.

In general, great attention has to be paid to organizing the young people's leisure time. New demands are developing. All this has to be carefully taken into account. Since the young people themselves want this to a great extent, opportunities for high-quality leisure time activities, not least of all dancing, should be expanded. It must be stressed that planned youth facilities are to be handed over on time and in accordance with quality standards. We approve of the fact that the FDJ, as the representative of young people's interests, advocates taking into account everywhere, in accordance with the youth act, the proposals and concerns of the young people.

The preparations for the Eighth Pioneers' Meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt in August of this year are intended to contribute to the FDJ's facing of its responsibility for the leadership of the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneer organization with even more ideas. It is becoming increasingly apparent that a politically inspiring and varied life as a group stimulates the pioneers independence and responsibility for themselves. In this way it is planned to raise the level of political education in the pioneer organization, to prepare the Thaelmann pioneers for their entry into the FDJ, and to strengthen each individual's sense of responsibility. Thus, the preparations for the pioneer meeting must be actively supported.

Dear Comrades: I certainly am not telling you a secret when I say that this fall the statements of accounts and the new elections of leaders in the basic organizations will start according to the party statutes. Thus, a period of work will begin that will reach its climax with the election of the kreis leaderships in the conferences of the kreis delegates at the end of the year. Approximately 510,000 members of the kreis leaderships and the leaderships of the basic organizations will be elected. Regarding the results of the party's work, the influence of the party organizations depends to a great extent on their political quality and the prestige they enjoy with the comrades and all working people.

Basic organizations that set ambitious targets for themselves on the basis of the decisions of our party congress and of the Central Committee, which encompass everything leading to progress, and that perseveringly ensure that solutions to the tasks are worked on until the required results have been obtained—these organizations are developing high militant strength. There is no room for formalism, no reconciling difficulties, and no putting off one's own responsibility; but there is need for militant positions, especially in the mastering of problems. The precondition is for the best solutions to be objectively and freely discussed at members meetings.

This includes comrades expressing their opinions, submitting proposals, and sharing their experiences. In the end, those good decisions will be jointly achieved that are jointly advocated and implemented. Everybody is surely aware of which personal contribution he has to make. In this way the most convincing arguments are also worked out on topical international events, as well as on tasks and questions in one's own field.

Every Communist will feel bound to actively participate in internal party life, to maintain a close relationship with his colleagues at the workplace and with the citizens where he lives, and to set an example with his achievements and his attitude. In this way he actively contributes to winning new comrades-in-arms and to implementing our policy for the benefit of the people with the people. Especially at the time when we are approaching party elections, it should be stressed how much depends on the cadres, how they are selected and prepared, and if they are properly employed. In connection with the report of the Gera Bezirk leadership on its experiences, the Politburo has made a fundamental decision, as it is known. It is repeatedly confirmed that continuity and stability in cadre work are the prerequisite for continuity and stability in social development in the GDR. With regard to cadre reserves and the junior cadres, the most important thing is still to entrust them with concrete tasks in which they can prove their efficiency and abilities.

Dear Comrades: Our kreis leaderships, our kreis party organizations perform comprehensive, manifold, and valuable work every day. They have made a great contribution to our party's achievements in further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR, for which they deserve to be thanked and recognized. With the clear course of the ninth party congress and in solid combat positions for peace and socialism, they will also—of this we are certain—honorably master their responsibility in this decisive year of 1988. For this I wish you, dear comrades, success, health, and creative vigor.

Government Spokesman's News Conference

AU020732 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Feb 88 pp 1,6

[Correspondents' report: "Council of Ministers Holds Meeting—The Network of Family Assistance Centers To Be Extended—Government Spokesman Rezso Banyasz Holds Press Conference—Interministerial Committee To Settle the Affairs of Foreign Citizens Living in Hungary"—in Budapest on 25 February]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Due to his other important assignment, the Council of Ministers released Deputy Foreign Minister Miklos Barity from his post as of 1 March 1988 and appointed Istvan Oszi as deputy foreign minister.

On the occasion of his retirement and acknowledging its merits, the Council of Ministers released Dr Lajos Juszt from his post of deputy minister of social and health affairs as of 1 March 1988 and appointed Dr Istvan Gyorfi, Dr Kokeny Mihaly, and Dr Bea Illes as deputy ministers of social and health affairs.

The Council of Ministers submitted a proposal to the Presidential Council that it appoint a state secretary for social and health affairs. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: There has been much debate in recent years on whether it is necessary to submit regulations for public debate. The government has discussed this today. Can we expect regulations, laws, and rules to be submitted for public debate in future?

[Banyasz] The guidelines discussed by the government generally stipulate the need for a public debate during preparations of regulations that affect broad strata of the population, adequate forums where everyone concerned can express his opinions and make proposals. These forums can be generally initiated by the party organs, the trade unions, the PPF, and the KISZ. Of course, the government itself can propose such public debates. [passage omitted]

MTI: The government received a report submitted by the Central People's Control Committee on the activity of family assistance centers. What information did the government supply about these experiences?

[Banyasz] [passage omitted] The report submitted by the Central People's Control Committee indicated that a well-established and flexible system of local social and health assistance is the condition for the further effective activity of these family assistance centers. The government agrees with the report and concluded that the experiment was successful. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Radio Foreign Service: What is happening to the modernization process that started in the state administration?

[Banyasz] It is part of the government program to set up a more up-to-date and more streamlined state administration, but not necessarily one of reduced staff, because, if we compare the staff of the Hungarian central state administration organs with the size of the state administration of similar countries, the Hungarian staff does not exceed that of others countries. It is possible, however, that some people do not work at suitable places and that some institutions do not work effectively enough. [passage omitted]

DUNANTULI NAPLO: The consequences of the recent credit restrictions are well known today. Did the government take these in consideration before imposing the restrictions? Does the government continue to regard these restrictions as purposeful, thorough, and justified?

[Banyasz] [passage omitted] I would like to stress that the main goal of the credit restriction policy is to increase the performance capacity of the enterprises, various ventures, cooperatives, and of the entire economy. This is an indispensable requirement for the implementation of our plans for this year and of the government work program.

In order to make sure that the justified and inevitable restrictions do not cause disturbances in the economic activity, the government has repeatedly taken measures to reduce, for example, the extent of the necessary restrictions in the first quarter of the current year. New measures will come into force beginning 1 March. [passage omitted]

SZOT Secretary Discusses Trade Union Stance

LD012149 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Interview with SZOT Secretary Magda (Kosa) by unidentified presenter; —recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Shortly before our broadcast we recorded the following interview. Its topic is the stance of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] Presidium, which appeared in today's papers and which deals with topical issues of the trade union movement. Our studio guest is Mrs (Kosa), nee Magda Kovacs, SZOT secretary. My affectionate greeting to you. If one reads the document it emerges unequivocally that you were prompted to take the stance by the membership's just criticism, which is becoming stronger. But, I wonder, what does it mean when it says that the causes of these criticisms must be sought partly outside the movement?

[Kosa] It means two things, and I hope that this is also clear from the document. On the one hand it means that the trade unions' endeavors at interest representation stand a chance if an economy that has already overcome its conflicts provides an economic basis for the fulfillment of these endeavors. On the other hand it means that the trade union movement is part of the system of

political institutions and is inseparable from the operation, the development, of this system of institutions. Naturally, it also carries within itself the conflicts of the latter.

[Announcer] To the first part of your answer some of the trade union members might say that in an economically favorable climate it is relatively easy to perform trade union work; the weight of the trade union is generally assessed in economically unfavorable climates.

[Kosa] I think that the assessment does indeed depend on the results of the activity of interest representation. But the trade union membership knows, and it must take cognizance of it, too, that the trade union movement, among the difficulties of the economy, is not solely responsible for pursuing interests.

[Announcer] This leads us to the second part of your reply, which, if I have understood it correctly, in fact means that the upswing of trade union activity also depends on, or is conceivable together with, some kind of reform of the system of political institutions.

[Kosa] Naturally. We are convinced that the renewal of the trade unions is part of the reform of the system of political institutions.

[Announcer] If we look at this document further it emerges that the timing—that is to say that it appeared now and in this form—can be explained first and foremost by the fact—and this also figures in the document—that the trade union leadership is coming across new phenomena. A narrow group, and I quote, is expressing its intention to break up the unity of the trade unions and set up organizations outside the movement. In addition, the document also describes the intentions of this narrow group as ill-willed [sanda]. Who are they, and why are their intentions ill-willed?

[Kosa] I think that this question has been put by very many people during the day. For indeed, the document says certain people, a certain narrow group. There are people who have no name and who have no face. For those who, in the past weeks, have been scattering leaflets in the streets of Budapest, on the workers' trains heading for Budapest, or in the surrounding villages, these people did not put their signatures to these leaflets. On the other hand, they have shown their political intentions. They called on the trade union membership to leave the movement en masse, and they hoped that this movement, once it had lost its membership, would collapse by itself.

At the same time, there are some groups which, we are convinced, do not always represent a community intention, a community opinion, and for this reason we would not have considered it correct to mention on a common platform in this document those who have appeared within the movement with well-intentioned endeavors for renewal, but whose intentions had been approached by others whose intent was not to renew but to attack and to break up.

[Announcer] So, there exists a limited circle whose operation, whose standpoint, you reject, and you say—and this is also contained in this document—that a SZOT with a changed conception, a changed method of working, is fitted for satisfying every kind of just demand, including the removal of the causes of the just criticisms. What is the guarantee that from now on this will in fact be so—and not only in the document?

[Kosa] There is only one guarantee for this. That all those who have turned with their proposals, their observations, to trade union organizations, central leaderships or to the SZOT, hold their ideas really seriously. For in the past week concrete concepts have been formulated as to what could be done better and how. We take cognizance of them even if they affect the content of the work. Our duty is to look for the way to resolve the observations received from the membership. The guarantee, therefore, lies in the will of the membership.

[Announcer] Thank you very much for elaborating on the SZOT stance, a verbal supplement to the document we were able to read this morning.

TU's Gaspar on 1988 Trade Union Tasks

AU020810 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Feb 88 p 3

[Correspondents' report on speech by Sandor Gaspar, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the National Trade Union Council, at a council session at the Budapest Headquarters on 19 February: "Sandor Gaspar—We Accept Criticism Only From Our Members"]

[Excerpts] Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Trade Union Council, took the floor in the course of the 19 February National Trade Union session. He said that handling the processes, which were initiated to promote the stabilization process and the ensuing development, requires trade unions to conduct themselves responsibly. Trade unions find it hard to reduce the changes in moods which are the result of the economic situation, because at present they have to mobilize people to implement a program in the first stages of which people will have to work more while incomes will not grow proportionally and prices will increase sharply. Still, this is the task for which the trade unions should mobilize people by pointing out that it is not futile to accept this sacrifice because at present, this is the only way for us to master our difficulties and increase the capacity of the country to create value, so that later we will also be able to solve the problems of improving the living standard and the living and working situations.

Gaspar emphasized the following: "It is impossible to encourage people to act if everybody were trying to figure out how we got here. Naturally, we should deal with this subject. The fact that it is necesary to scientifically explore the situation was also pointed out in party documents and the government's work program, and we said this too. This work is continuing at present. It is clear that our own mistakes have contributed to the development of the present situation; and nobody is relieved by the fact that almost all the socialist countries, and in their own different ways almost all of the European countries, are struggling with similar difficulties.

"We, however, are not comforted by the fact that essentially we are facing a global phenomenon, and these burdens are inherent in it. We have to solve our own problems; but this should not be done by constantly talking about our difficulties and the crisis situation because this way we will not move ahead at all. We should realize that accepting sacrifices will bring results; but for the time being, we can say nothing more about this except that if in 1988 we only succeed in improving economic results a little, next year we will probably be able to expect less inflation. This is the real possibility, and this is why the task of the trade union movement is now so difficult.

"Both Comrade Baranyai and other people also said that an ongoing attack against the trade union movement is discernible these days. This attack comes from many directions. I would like to point out one thing: We humbly acknowledge criticism from one source—our membership. We should always pay attention to the opinions and the criticism of our members because they make claims on us and set our direction; and the movement exists for them. However, in a civilized and well-founded manner and on the basis of the facts, we will reject any attacks or criticism from any other source.

"A specific situation has developed in these complex times: If the trade union movement protects the interests of the workers, the movement is made to appear as if it were the enemy of reform. If it does not protect the workers interest, it fails to fulfill its obligation to the workers. We receive many different opinions sympathetically; however, we reject any attempt to use the trade unions to justify a previous mistake. I am saying this because the debate has just re-opened on whether the trade union movement is a true believer in the reform or not. I would like to categorically state here that if the trade unions had not been true believers in the reform, there would have been no reform at present. The trade unions have taken part in every stage of working out the reform because, for more than 100 years, this movement has been a revolutionary movement that has always been the producer and the carrier of the concept of reform. Not one person who knows the history of the Hungarian workers movement can question this." [passage omitted]

Gaspar then spoke about the preparations under way to modernize the system of political institutions, in the course of which and on the basis of majority opinion it will become clear whether the ideas on further perfecting the place and role of the trade unions will be laid down in a political document or whether they will be further upheld by legal guarantees. The principles that were laid down after 1956 are valid at present; but since the present situation requires more, these principles must in any case be supplemented because in a socialist society, there can be no development without a trade union movement that has a well-balanced and adequate sphere of authority and jurisdiction. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Gaspar said that many people are concerned about the possibility that as of April, prices will break loose. About this he warned that the trade union movement has responsibilities not only in national issues but also in local issues. That is, the extent of the price increases will be determined at the enterprise level.

Kadar, Lukacs Meet With County Leaders

LD012346 Budapest MTI in English
2112 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, general secretary of the HSWP met the party and council leaders of Counties Fejer, Komarom and Veszprem on Tuesday. He was accompanied by Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee. In Szekesfehervar the visitors were welcomed by County First Secretaries Mrs Barts of Fejer, Albert Antaloczy of Komarom and Laszlo Gyuricza of Veszprem.

After the welcoming address of the host of the working conference Mrs. Barts, Janos Kadar, indicating the aim of the meeting, said he wished to hear directly the opinions of the leaders working in different fields and party members, how they see the situation of the country and their closer environment, the action to taken and which questions are considered by the population and the party members.

The county leaders reported that at the working places the year began without major surprises, but remarkable changes have occurred in the conditions of the economy. It is promising that the company capacities are mainly covered by orders and outlook in the agriculture is good.

Speaking on the life of the party they emphasized that the party organizations and the members were activated by the discussions on the ideological theses, leading role of the party, the further development of the political institutional system, the discussion preparing for the revision of the membership cards, and debates on the tasks facing the country and the party. They also said that the discussions are not limited to the party members but a wide circle of non-party members who contribute numerous proposals.

The efforts aimed at the widening of democracy, the increase in openness, and the strengthening of the movement character of the party work met favourable reception. It was expressed that the party leads and controls the processes serving the economic and social renewal.

The party membership and the decisive majority of the population accepts and takes the greater strains associated with the emergence policy with understanding—and as is indicated by the results achieved in the economic units—and they actively participate in the solution of the tasks. At the same time anxiety and fear for the results also characterize the population.

The participants of the meeting saw the public mood worse than the actual social and economic situation.

Janos Kadar found useful and stimulating the almost five hours long open and straightforward exchange of views. Speaking on the present situation he emphasized that the country has reached a stage of the socialist construction work when the dynamic social and economic development came to a standstill. "In this objective and subjective factors played role simultaneously: the shortcomings of our work, and the worse than expected world economy situation, and our late recognized relationships and response to them." He stressed that the party by restructuring the economy control was the vanguard of the historical reform process. "The major guarantee for solving the tasks what we face now is the renewal of our means, methods based on our socialist achievements and values." He held it important that the party membership act uniformly and decisively for the fulfillment of the development programme. "with this we can help the prosperity of the members of the society, the communities and the entire society."

Finally he spoke on the international conditions of the socialist construction work, stressing that the renewal processes underway in the Soviet Union and in the majority of the socialist countries provide more favourable conditions for the constructive domestic work.

The HSWP general secretary returned to Budapest after the working meeting.

Kadar Addresses Leaders

LD012349 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] The general secretary of the MSZMP visited County Fejer this morning. Here is our report from Szekesfehervar:

[Correspondent] The arrival and welcome in Szekesfehervar this morning are just as they were anywhere previously. Janos Kadar has come to County Fejer to meet with party and state leaders. However, on this occasion he has considerably more hosts than at other times, because the leaders of neighboring Veszprem and Komarom counties have also come to Szekesfehervar. As a matter of fact, Janos Kadar, as far as the County Fejer first secretary remembers, is paying his eighth visit here, and he himself explains how today's discussion came about.

[Begin Kadar recording] There are two big issues which the Central Committee is now dealing with: They are the present-day interpretation of the party's leading role, and the examination of the political structure of society, and, essentially linked to this, the party conference. Now then, with this task in mind, I (?decided) that I would like to plan and carry out, as far as possible, a few such informal discussions. I would like to hear, to sense, through living words and face to face, the problems, tasks, views, which you represent here. [end recording]

[Correspondent] After this Janos Kadar alluded to the fact that the current year's difficult beginning was not typical. The county leaders said about this that at the workplaces on the whole the economic year started without any significant hitches. The decisive majority of the party membership, the population, greets with understanding and accepts the bigger burdens that go with the resurgence. At the same time, Hungarian public opinion is also characterised by anxiety and concern for our achievements. Janos Kadar said in his reply that the dynamic social economic development in the country has now come to a standstill, and in this a role was played by the shortcomings of our work, just as much as the interconnections which were recognized to slowly, and the reactions to them. He emphasized that the party, with the transformation of economic management, has stood at the head of a reform process of historic significance. And, he said, what is important now is that every Hungarian citizen should act in unity, decisively, in the interest of the prosperity of all of us. Finally, Janos Kadar described the 5 hours or so of informal discussion during his Szekesfehervar visit as an open, honest exchange of opinions.

Karoly Grosz Begins County Vas Tour

LD011844 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and president of the Ministerial Council arrived in County Vas on Tuesday. As the first programme of the visit, which is planned to last two days, he saw round, in the company of the country's party and council leaders, the Raba Hungarian waggon and machine factory's Szentgotthard plant which is under construction. He was guided by Ede Horvath, executive-director of the company.

Further on Tour

LD012334 Budapest MTI in English 2237 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and president of the Ministerial Council visited Couty Vas on Tuesday.

As the first event of his two day visit, he visited the Szentgotthard plant under construction which belongs to the Raba wagon and machine manufacturing factory.

The president of the government was informed by Executive Director Ede Horvath who said that in the plant, which alleviates the employment problems of the region, the manufacturing of agricultural machines starts this summer.

Afterwards at the township party committee Karoly Grosz was briefed by First-Secretary Endre Mathe on the development of the town and its vicinity, on the experience of political work, the conditions of production and the three nationalities—Hungarians, Slovenes, Germans—living in the region in harmony and working together for the preservation of their national identities.

The importance of the latter was mentioned by Karoly Grosz who emphasized that "our nationality policy preserves its validity and exemplary character if it is persistently implemented in day-to-day practice".

Karoly Grosz visits the county's industrial, social and tourist institutions on Wednesday and will attend the county party activist meeting.

Prosecutor Holds Press Conference on Crime

AU020803 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Feb 88 p 9

[Report signed SZ.K.: "There Is Need for Joint Measures To Curb and Prevent Crime—Press Conference by Chief Prosecutor Karoly Szijarto"]

[Text] Chief Prosecutor Dr Karoly Szijarto held a press conference on 24 February on the lessons that can be drawn from the data on crimes committed in Hungary in 1987 and on the timely curbing and prevention of crimes.

In his introduction, Szijarto said that the high rate of increase in crimes since the beginning of the eighties slowed down in 1987, and, compared to the previous year, there was an increase of 3 percent in crimes committed in Hungary. However, the number of known crimes is large: More than 188,000 crimes became known to criminal investigation authorities in 1987, compared to the 182,000 cases discovered in 1986. However, there has been no essential change in the type of crimes. Within the overall number of crimes in 1987, one-third were felony, and two-thirds were lesser crimes.

The proportion of property crimes continued to be decisive and amounted to 61.5 percent in 1987. Personal property crimes increased by 8.1 percent; the figure for certain types of crimes, however, are very different from the average figures. Known cases of fraud cases increased by 38.2 percent, and compound larceny increased by 10.2 percent.

In absolute figures, public property crimes increased only slightly, but the resulting damage—including the 100 million forint damage caused by a careless fire at the Heviz Lake Bath—was at more than 1,315,000,000 forints. This was 30 percent more than in the previous year.

Hard currency and customs crimes increased considerably within the economic crimes. Some 6,970 such cases became known to the criminal investigation authorities in 1987, compared with 6,103 in the previous year. These crimes make up 85.1 percent of overall economic crimes.

There was an increased of 11.4 percent in the proportion of crimes against state administration, and a 3-percent increase in crimes against administration of justice. Within crimes against state administration, a particular increase took place in cases of illegal border crossing, 901 cases compared to 681 in 1986, with foreign citizens making up two-third of the cases. Concerning crimes against justice administration, the 17-percent increase in the cases of perjury shows the decline in citizen's discipline.

The proportion of violent and turbulent crimes within the overall crimes decreased to 9 percent from 10.4 percent in the previous year. Compared to 230 cases in 1986, the number of manslaughter cases stood at 202 in 1987, and only larceny increased in this crime group by 0.6 percent.

Szijarto also mentioned the fact that 92,643 criminals were apprehended in 1987, 0.6 percent less than in the previous year. There was a slight decrease in the number of young criminals, from 10,574 in 1986 down to 9,887 in 1987, and the number of old offenders and recidivists also decreased. Foreigners made up 5.1 percent of the criminals, the majority violating the hard currency regulations.

Answering questions, Szijarto said that, no doubt, the picture that emerged in connection with the domestic crimes committed in 1987 does not reflect precisely the general experience concerning certain types of crimes. The activity of a widespread network of receivers of stolen goods also contributes to the alarming increase in compound larceny, but the criminal investigation statistics do not reflect the increased importance of this network. The 4.4-percent decrease in the percentage of provable crimes against honesty in public life also contradicts the negative experiences. This, no doubt, is related to the fact that 65.1 percent of the police investigations are successful and to with the fact that criminal investigators receive less assistance than necessary from the citizens. All these call for a broadening of the tasks of crime investigation and crime prevention by the authorities and the public.

In conclusion, Karoly Szijarto said that the analysis of the crimes committed in 1987 also draws attention to some contradictions in the changing economy.

Horn Holds International News Conference
LD020210 Budapest MTI in English
2140 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Gyula Horn held an international press conference.

He briefly reviewed the major foreign policy efforts of Hungary, and the stand on international issues. He emphasized that the development of the Hungarian foreign policy is balanced and consistent. In Hungary today a certain concord is felt on the foreign policy which can be attributed, besides the efforts based on principles, to the fact that the Helsinki conference final document has became an organic part of the domestic life of the country.

Analysing the actual international situation he emphasized primarily the importance of the starting new favourable international processes as a result of the new thinking emerging in the Soviet Union which provides favourable conditions for the foreign policy activity of Hungary.

According to Hungarian opinion the role of the multilateral international political factors affecting several parties is increasing. A positive outcome of this development is the dialogue developing between East and West on several levels. One of the latest contact building NATO and Warsaw Treaty policies is the visit of the delegation of the North-Atlantic General Assembly to Hungary.

The importance of this event is increased by the fact that it was the first visit of representatives of the North-Atlantic alliance to a Warsaw Treaty signatory country. Further signs of the development in multilateral contacts are the cooperation negotiations bwtween the CMEA and the Common Market and between the EEC and some CMEA member countries. In this respect Gyula Horn has stated that it is to be hoped by the end of the first half of this year negotiations will be successfully concluded on the agreement between Hungary and the Common Market.

Speaking on the Vienna follow-up meeting the secretary of state stated that Hungary is dissatisfied by the rate of the negotiations and considered that mainly the stalemate over the military and humanitarian questions of the first two baskets is contributing to the slowdown of the elaboration of the final document.

The dialogue on the elaboration of the mandate for a European Disarmament Conference has come out of the deadlock concluded Gyula Horn. He referred to the well known Warsaw Treaty stand on arms reduction and emphasized that the socialist countries look with increased interest towards the present Brussels summit of NATO and expect a similar favourable response from the Western alliance. First of all, no replacement arms-race should be started after the Soviet-American missile agreements. In this respect Gyula Horn went into details on the 72 US owned F-16 fighter planes which would be re-stationed to Italy. As this step would upset the central-European balance of powers, considerations on the possibility of their removal from the continent would be welcome.

Gyula Horn concluded that in the shaping of the international issues the role of the medium-sized and small countries and the impact of the different political and social organizations has increased within the alliance systems. This is illustrated by the recently published disarmament initiative addressed to the No-Social Democratic Party [name of party as received] and the Italian Socialist Party.

Besides disarmament problems another field of key importance in the European relations is the humanitarian questions. Emphasizing the close relationship between this issue and other elements of the Helsinki process Gyula Horn stressed the development of the national minorities' situation. According to the Hungarian stand primary attention should be paid to the assurance of the rights of the national minorities.

The state secretary finally announced that from March 1 substantial simplification comes into force in Hungarian and West German tourist traffic. According to the agreement which is exemplary in East-West cooperation Hungarian citizens travelling on business passports will receive at the Budapest Embassy of the FRG a special visa valid for one year and permitting several entries, as persons travelling on business trips on private passports. Hungarian citizens travelling on diplomatic passports are permitted to enter the FRG without a visa. The two countries are to facilitate the handling of visas according to possiblities.

The press conference continued with questions. The correspondent of the AP asked for more information on the negotiations between Hungary and the EEC. Gyula Horn said that Hungary handed over a proposal to Brussels and an agreement is expected by the end of June on that basis. Hungary expects the respect of the GATT membership related rights and the foundation of wide ranging cooperation. At the same time the country is entering into diplomatic relationship with the EEC. On the Hungarian side great importance is attributed to the relations with the European Parliament. The present, non-official relationships will be replaced by regular cooperation. Accordingly two large meetings will be held this year.

Several questions were asked on the Hungarian stand on national minorities. The state secretary recalled that Hungary attributes a certain bridge role to the national

minorities linking countries together and on the basis of mutuality the contacts with the neighbouring countries are formulated in this spirit.

On this topic the BBC correspondent asked whether negotiations were underway between Hungary and the International Red Cross on aid to the Hungarian nationals with Romanian citizenship who wish to settle in Hungary. The response was given that no negotiations are being held on this topic, but should the international organization take the initiative such advances probably would not be rejected.

Related to the European nuclear arms free zones the Hungarian stand is in favour of such zones, but forces proofed zones—the nuclear arms clear zones should be coupled to a confluent unit. It is also important that these ideas are implemented at the lowest possible level of the conventional weapons. Supporting the GDR's proposal in this respect Hungary will be a participant to the conference to be held on the nuclear arms free zones and the conventional weapons in June.

In the question on travel it was mentioned that Hungary made a proposal to each European country on the mutual removal of visa obligations and the increase of tourist traffic. Accordingly agreements on the simplification of travel formalities were reached recently with the Soviet Union and the coming Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministry representatives will also discuss the issue.

Government Supports Resolution on PLO Office

LD020959 Budapest MTI in English
0500 GMT 2 Mar 88

[Text] New York, March 2 (MTI)—Ambassador Ferenc Esztergalyos, permanent representative of Hungary to the United Nations, addressed the session of the UN General Assembly. He noted that the closing of the New York office of the observer of the Palestinian Liberation Organization by the United States would be contrary both to the Charter of the United Nations and to the agreement concluded between the United States and the world organization on the headquarters of the UNO.

Ferenc Esztergalyos said that closing the PLO office could not be reconciled with the agreement on the operation of the world organization either, nor with the General Assembly resolution which ensured an observer's status to the PLO. The ambassador termed it necessary for the host country of the world organization to refrain from steps which hinder the operation of the permanent observer, as a conduct contrary to this could mean they do not respect either the rights of the United Nations nor the obligations of the receiving country. Ferenc Esztergalyos ensured [as received] the draft resolution submitted to the session, which demands the further free operation of the PLO observer's office, of the Hungarian delegation's agreement.

Istvan Sarlos Meets with NATO Delegation

LD011756 Budapest MTI in English
1624 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)— On Tuesday Istvan Sarlos, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, met in Parliament the delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly, currently on an official visit in Budapest under the leadership of Ton Frinking on the invitation of the Hungarian legislative body.

The parties to the talks said the present visit contributes to the mutual knowledge of positions and may create a basis for the continuation of the dialogue.

Answering questions of the visiting delegation, Istvan Sarlos outlined the operation of the Parliament and analysed the relations of the Parliament and the government. On discussing the practice of legislative and supervisory work, he stressed the importance of the standing committees. The president of the National Assembly spoke of the institution of interpellations and representation and current work in elaborating the new order of parliament.

Istvan Sarlos also discussed the issue of control by deputies over the foreign political activity of the government. He stressed dialogue between legislative bodies, including parliaments of states with different social systems, may strengthen the atmosphere of understanding and confidence which may be promoted by the initiatives of small and medium-sized countries at international forums.

The talks were attended by Janos Peter, vice-president of the National Assembly, head of the Hungarian negotiating group.

Gyula Horn, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held open discussions in the Parliament. He gave information on main foreign policy endeavours and the stand on major international questions. The meeting was attended by Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Reviewing issues related to detente, Gyula Horn pointed out that its strengthening is a central effort of Hungarian foreign policy. The process of detente, which is gaining new ground in international life, is characterized by the initiating role of the great powers, particularly the Soviet Union. Following the cooler atmosphere of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the international atmosphere has gained new ideological and political approaches. For instance, the preservation of world peace has become a central issue of international politics. Outlining the Hungarian position, the under-secretary of state stressed the need to increasingly detach the building of inter-state contacts from ideological elements. He assured the delegation of Hungary's interest in the stability of Western partners, which is indispensable for putting into practice the aims of Hungarian foreign policy.

The new approach to security issues also implies the recognition that it is no longer possible to settle problems on narrow national bases. The complex problematology [as received] covering the military, economic, political and cultural spheres, calls for common thinking and joint initiatives. In this context, Gyula Horn stressed the importance of strengthening East-West relations and dialogue between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA and the Common Market.

Answering questions, the under-secretary of state explained Hungary's position on security policy issues and presented the proposals of the socialist countries aimed at intensifying the all-European process. On the talks of Hungary and the Common Market, he said the Hungarian party firmly stands for guaranteeing the rights stemming from GATT membership.

Article Discusses CEMA-EEC Relations

AU011436 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Feb 88 p 6

[Article by Peter Lovasz: "CEMA-EEC Relations—Common Interests-Differences of Views"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The two blocs of economic integration in Europe have been striving to create good relations since the middle of the seventies, and each organization took turns in coming up with initiatives, but opinions that hinder reaching an agreement can be found in both organizations. In spite of all these, the initial cold and reserved relations between the CEMA (which is 10 years older), and the increasingly growing EEC turned first into a dialogue, and today we can already expect a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations. [passage omitted]

CEMA proposed signing a trade agreement back in 1976, an agreement that would regulate cooperation with the EEC. The EEC, however, does not recognize CEMA as an equal organization because it is not a so-called organization which comprises different nations. The CEMA common organs have no authority over the member states while the Brussels committee has such authority. Brussels used this argument to reject the negotiations on a reaching a trade policy agreement, and the EEC strives to sign separate agreements with individual CEMA countries. [passage omitted]

Differences of opinions are also evident in economic and trade issues. CEMA wants to achieve an agreement that eliminates trade discrimination referring both to customs and quantitative restrictions; the EEC, however, is ready to agree only on the issue of customs. [passage omitted]

Authorized by the conference of the EEC foreign ministers, the Brussels committee is allowed to negotiate with the CSSR, Romania, and Hungary on signing cooperation agreements, and can also hold exploratory talks with the other CEMA countries in Europe.

Readiness for reaching an agreement is strengthening, but the debates will, no doubt, be strong on every concrete issue. Hungary has also repeatedly expressed its willingness to reach an agreement but, of course, we want to assert our rights stipulated in the GATT and other international treaties, rights that are also recognized in principle by the EEC member states. [passage omitted]

Reorganizing their trade relations with the EEC is hardly an easy task for the CEMA member states, and broadening relations with other regions has not been, and could not be, successful enough in spite of all the promising and positive experiments. The European CEMA countries are bound to Europe, and primarily to the EEC, by very strong traditions and by the fact that, in spite of the existing disadvantages, the EEC continues to be their most suitable partner from the point of view of profitability. [passage omitted]

In the long run, CEMA relations can provide an opportunity to catch up with the backlog and enable Western Europe to restore it previous world economic positions.

Increasing interest on both sides justifies the optimism in the development of relations.

Varkonyi Meets Indian Premier, Other Officials

LD011523 Budapest MTI in English 1450 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] New Delhi, March 1 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, currently on an official visit to India, Tuesday met Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Both sides noted with satisfaction that the views and goals of Hungary and India in the major world political issues, particularly disarmament, are identical. Peter Varkonyi appreciated the international role of the host Asian nation, and ensured the support of Hungary to its outstanding activity in the movement of nonaligned countries and the group of six. The visit to Hungary of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, which was postponed last year due to the drought in India, was also discussed.

The leader of Hungarian diplomacy met several high-ranking members of the Indian government, including minister of industry Vengala Rao, who is also co-chairman of the inter-governmental cooperation joint committee. Economic, commercial and technical cooperation between the two countries has considerably increased in the past years. For instance, a Hungarian company delivered energetics installations to the Nejvel power plant. Within goods turnover, modern products are also included on the list, alongside traditional goods. One of the signs of this is that Maruti cars are already running in Hungary. Cooperation in the key industry of electronics is also on the rise. At its session in Budapest last year, the joint committee determined the future areas of many-sided cooperation.

The Hungarian-Indian scientific and technical cooperation work plan for the years 1988-90 was signed by Hungarian Ambassador Jozsef Olah and V.Govariker, deputy minister of science and technology, in the presence of Peter Varkonyi.

On Tuesday Peter Varkonyi paid a visit to the Javaharlal Nehru Memorial House and then in the garden of the residence of the late Indira Gandi placed flowers on the marble table which marks the scene of the assassination against the former prime minister. In the afternoon the Hungarian foreign minister gave a press conference. He spoke with satisfaction of the results of his talks which he described as useful, and expressed the hope that his visit has lent further impetus to the expansion of bilateral relations.

Leaves India for Thailand

LD012345 Budapest MTI in English
2239 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs closed his visit to India and on Wednesday morning (local time) continued his trip covering six countries in the Asian and Pacific region to the capital of Thailand.

Customs Official on Increased Border Traffic

AU020808 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
26 Feb 88 p 9

[Interview with Major General Endre Molnar, national commander of the National Command of the Customs and Internal Revenue Police, by Correspondent Attila Schmidt: "Preparations for the Expected Increase in Border Traffic—Interview with Major General Endre Molnar"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Molnar] As is well-known, there was more border traffic in 1987 than in previous years, and more foreigners visited Hungary. In parallel with this increase, there was also an increase in violations of customs and hard currency regulations. Our customs officials discovered some 22,000 such cases in 1987, worth 541 million forints. This means that there was one discovered case per 2,500 travelers, including one violation of customs and hard currency regulations per 10,000 travelers. Thus majority of the travelers, respect the regulations. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] What is the proportion between the foreign and Hungarian violators?

[Molnar] There was no essential change in violations by the Hungarian citizens in 1987, but the number of violations committed by foreign citizens increased. Customs officials find more expensive smuggled goods only rarely, but it has already happened that a pseudo-tourist tried to smuggle in 1 million forints worth of goods. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] According to experience, do travelers try to smuggle drugs into the country? Is there a domestic drug market in Hungary?

[Molnar] Drugs are not characteristic of smuggled goods, neither in transit nor for selling purposes. We have not found considerable quantities of drugs during our border checks but we do our utmost to catch possible drug smugglers. International cooperation is effective in this respect, because catching drug smugglers is in the interest of every country. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] As a result of eliminating restrictions on issuing passports, a considerable increase in border traffic is expected in the coming spring holiday season. Have you made preparations for quick and secure customs formalities?

[Molnar] It is, naturally, up to the customs and internal revenue police to supervise the financial conditions stipulated in the new passport regulations. We have already taken measures to instruct our staff in this matter. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] Is the situation at the Hungarian-Romanian border expected to improve?

[Molnar] In recent decades, we have made considerable investments so we can increase our traffic capacity at our border crossings, and we have done our utmost to accelerate the formalities and carry them out in a cultured way. We have applied these efforts at all our border crossings. The conditions for a quick, safe, and high level customs formalities are also present at the Hungarian-Romanian border crossings. The unfortunate long waits and crossing difficulties in recent years generally do not originate from the activity of the Hungarian side but from the limited capacity of the Romanian side. We hope for continuous improvement in this area as a result of regular negotiations between the Hungarian and Romanian competent organs. At present, we have no information of longer waiting periods at these border crossings.

Leaders' Public Appearances 18-24 February

AU261548 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian from 19 to 25 February reports on the public appearance of the following leaders between 18 and 24 February (date and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Gyorgy Lazar, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP, participated in the final accounting session of the Balatonfured-Csopak Taja Production Cooperative in Veszprem on 19 February. (20 Feb p 4)

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a visit to Baranya County on 18 February. (19 Feb p 5)

Sandor Gaspar, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the National Trade Union Council, paid a visit to Budapest's 21st district, on 18 February. (19 Feb p 5)

Judit Csehak, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of social affairs and health, attended the founding ceremony of the Debrecen Unified Research Organization at the Debrecen Medical University on 18 February. (19 Feb p 5) She also visited Budapest's 20th district on 22 February. (23 Feb p 5)

Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of environmental protection and water management, attended the final accounting session of the God Dunamenti Production Cooperative in Budapest on 19 February. (20 Feb p 4) He also visited the Carl Marx University of Economic Sciences in Budapest on 24 February. (25 Feb p 5)

Istvan Szabo, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives National Council, attended the final accounting session of the Dunavarsany Petofi Production Cooperative, the location and date of which were not specified (20 Feb p 4) He also paid a visit to Budapest's 12th district on 24 February. (25 Feb p 5)

Csaba Hamori, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of KISZ, visited Heves County on 24 February. (25 Feb p 5)

Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a visit to Budapest's 7th district on 22 February. (23 Feb p 5)

Wroclaw Factory Situation Returns to Normal
LD012348 Warsaw PAP in English
2145 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Wroclaw, March 1—Today, after work stopped for a few hours in the railway repair plant here yesterday, situation returned to normal.

This morning, representatives of the plant's management made an inspection of the plant's workshops and found out that repair work on wagons and locomotives as well as production of cast iron and castings proceeded at a regular pace. Shortages of raw and intermediate materials are the only difficulty in the plant's work. The atmosphere among the crew—after yesterday's two and a half hour long talk of the workers' delegation with the management which promised to modify the division of bonuses obtained after a profit distribution—is good, Wojciech Zmyslony, the plant's general director, told PAP.

Teams of specialists at the railway repair plant started to urgently work out a draft of new regulations concerning the distribution of bonuses obtained after the division of profits. In April the draft will be submitted for consultations and will be discussed by the crew. Social, political and trade union organizations will also present their opinions on the draft.

Walesa Refused Australia Trip, Decries Action
AU011710 Paris AFP in English
1637 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, March 1 (AFP)—Lech Walesa, leader of the banned trade union Solidarity, will not be allowed to go to Australia for a labor congress later this month, the Polish Government spokesman said here Tuesday.

Mr Walesa, speaking by telephone from his apartment in the northern city of Gdansk, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE he was "most deeply" disappointed.

He said he had planned to tell the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) that to end the crisis in Poland it was "vital to reestablish pluralism in the economic, social and political sectors."

The labor leader had also planned to say "the communist system is going bankrupt."

Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said participation by a Solidarity delegation headed by Mr Walesa at the ICFTU gathering would be "contrary to the major interests of People's Poland."

In such circumstances, he said at his weekly press briefing, "Polish law prevails and a passport cannot be delivered" for the Nobel laureate to attend the March 14-18 congress in Melbourne.

Mr Urban earlier noted that the ICFTU "does not recognize the official Polish unions" set up by the authorities after martial law was clamped down in December 1981.

Instead, the government spokesman said, the ICFTU had invited representatives of a union which, in his eyes, "no longer exists." [passage omitted]

Former Journalists Sentenced for Espionage
LD011813 Warsaw PAP in English
1230 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—Jerzy Urban told newsmen today that the court of the Warsaw military district sentenced yesterday two former journalists from the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily—Mariusz Dastych and Tadeusz Podwysocki to 8 and 1.5 years' imprisonment, respectively.

They were found guilty of carrying out espionage activities for Western intelligence services. In Destych's case it was a long term and conscious activity. In Podwysocki's case the court ruled that he was not fully aware of what he was doing.

Urban Discusses Spying, Walesa, Other Issues
LD012124 Warsaw PAP in English
1714 GMT 1 Mar 88

[By Stansilaw Filipczak and Miroslaw Luniewski]

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—Reactions to an earlier statement by the government press spokesman on the question of Polish emigration, polemics with Western reports on "political prisoners" in Poland, the attitude to the communique of the Polish episcopate, a trip to Australia by Walesa, Frasyniuk and others, the sentences for espionage against Poland, the Vienna negotiations and the Jaruzelski Plan, the attitude to the conference of foreign ministers of Balkan states, the work stoppage at the Wroclaw rolling stock repair factory are the most important subjects raised today at Polish Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban's weekly press conference.

More About Polish Emigration [subhead]

At my previous press conference, I discussed a serious problem that is emigration from Poland by young and educated people, said Jerzy Urban starting his conference.

I received many letters on this subject. Elderly people reacted generally with patriotic indignation at these who are emigrating. Many letters, written most often by younger people, are marked by a similar tone common to commentaries by the Western press, namely, that the present situation of young people in Poland is hopeless and that they have no life opportunities. These opinions are related particularly to the level of wages and the housing situation.

Fully understanding the difficult start into life of considerable part of Polish youth, one must say that the problem is viewed in a very one-sided way, the spokesman said and voiced three remarks.

The hopelessness of young Poles' lives is a deplorable problem for press of these Western countries where, firstly, a great part of young graduates cannot find any job for quite a long time. Secondly, a good standard of high and higher education is so expensive that it is inaccessible for the poorer and even for people with average pays. Poland does not know these problems. Polish young people have different troubles. Wages in rich Western countries are much higher than in this country, though, work there is much more intensive, too. Thus opinions that the situation in Poland is dramatic while in the West—idyllic are untrue, just like untrue would be reverse assessments. Western press hits its reading public with statements that in Poland one must wait for a flat even for 20 years. Nobody explains that such long waiting is true in relation to flats only 10 or 20 percent of the value of which one has to pay for by oneself. The rest of a payment is composed of subsidies and of credits which are very convenient and which are retired [as received] to a considerable extent. Nobody also explains that there are almost as many habitable rooms as citizens in Poland. And, flats are distributed basing, relatively, on more egalitarian grounds than in the West. At present too small a number of flats is being built but the constructed ones are much bigger and more comfortable than a few years ago.

And the third remark. It is said that youth does not have good material prospects in the country and that the economic reform does not offer such prospects as well. This is not true. Not all wages of young people are low. Many miners, modern farmers, workers who, owing to the reform, work in the brigade system, seamen, fishermen, inventors, and the like, do not feel any privation.

The law has come into effect of late saying that every economic unit, employing less than 50 people, may be put up for rent, that is regular lease. There are tens of thousands of units to be taken—shops, even the big ones, service-rendering firms, restaurants, production enterprises. Has a soul paid attention to such an open opportunity. Is it not a chance for young people who just happen to have material aspirations or display the willingness to work on their own, to test their enterprise, who like to take risks. Is it not a good chance for some part of young people who are particularly prosperity-oriented. Is it not a better chance than in capitalism where good opportunities in the economy have already been taken, where it is more difficult to sqeeze in. Why does not one speak about the fact that in Poland at present such new opportunities are at hand instead of speaking about the lack of prospects and chances to the point of boredom.

After all, the law on the rental system is only one example of novelties, these potential lifetime adventures, that are offered by the reform.

Criminal or Political Offences [subhead]

Opinions that in Poland people are still cast into jail for political activity and that only a proper criminal pretext is used appear in some Western newspapers and already commonly in the Radio Free Europe. But, after all, he who does not commit common offences does not create such a pretext, Jerzy Urban said next.

I want to present one fresh case and ask you not to write in the West that a substitute pretext was found to oppress another opponent of the regime, as here are the facts:

A young man came to one of the Warsaw second-hand book shops to sell old books. After accepting the books, the dealer noticed that stamps, most likely the library ones, had been removed from them. Thus, he notified the national library and the latter notified the militia.

The militia established that the books bore clear traces of removing library stamps and, knowing that these books disappeared from the national library, it searched the flat of the young man who had brought precious volumes for sale. In the flat, the militia found still several other very valuable books that, as it was later found out, had also vanished from the national library. Their total value was put at about half a million zloties.

When questioned, the thief did not at all want to speak about the books, the removed stamps and the attempted sale but made the following statement:

"The charge presented to me is a political provocation aimed to either jail or to discredit me in society's eyes and the cause of this provocation is my opposition activity carried out against the party ruling in People's Poland."

The young man who worked in the national library and next tried to sell the books that had vanished from the national library is Krzysztof Krol and was presented by the Western press as a leading activist of the so-called Confederation of Independent Poland run by his father-in-law Leszek Moczulski.

Investigation into this case is under way. Specialized crime detection tests are conducted in connection with the removed stamps. However, the circumstantial evidence and proofs are so clear that the public prosecutor's office permitted the disclosure of the name of Krol. Krzysztof Krol was presented the charge of stealing public property of great value. In this case, these are valuable cultural assets belonging to the nation. The crime carries an appropriate punishment.

Certainly, the fact that Krzysztof Krol's theft of valuable books was exposed is not politically coloured and is in no way connected with his being vice-leader of an illegal organization. As concerns his previous activity, Krol was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment, the penalty being pardoned by the amnesty of July 17, 1986.

Now I am waiting for Western commentaries with interest, the spokesman said. I am speaking ironically as I am sure that there will be no commentaries and, perhaps, the news I have reported to you will not be announced at all in Western mass media which so meticulously write about all that is related to contacts between our opponents and the militia. The principle of goodwill is binding in the West towards opponents to the system existing in Poland, and the fact that one of them has turned out to be a thief does not change such an attitude.

Attitude to the Episcopate's Communique [subhead]

Asked to present an opinion on the recently announced communique of Poland's episcopate, Urban said, among other things:

As concerns the part referring to political, social and economic affairs of the country, the communique's essential intention is generally convergent with the recent address delivered by the premier in the Sejm.

Political and legal decisions are made, convergent with episcopate's postulate, that make it easier to conduct individual economic activity, and the party supported in one of its recent documents the initiative of the democratic party to include in the constitution a guarantee of the lasting character of the private sector. At present the episcopate is also postulating this. Similarly to ideas voiced by the episcopate, our policy opposes the principles of equal distribution of goods exactly in the name of stimulating enterprise, honest work and creative dispositions.

The premier expressed in the Sejm concern, like the episcopate now, over the fact that declarations and discussions continue to dominate over deeds and are sometimes not confirmed by practice, burdened by old habits.

Despite the existing differences in the way strivings are motivated and despite ideological disimiliarites, I consider the episcopate's reminders and pressures as close to strivings and concern displayed by the authorities, and the issues raised as convergent with decisions made or being worked out. The implementation of reforms requires proper activeness on the part of not only the authorities but also society in overcoming the feelings of apathy, disbelief and distrust. We expect that the church's authority will make it easier to stimulate pro-reform civic attitudes and deeds.

Will Walesa Go to Australia [subhead]

Expecting a question about the trip by Mesars. Walesa, Frasyniuk and others to Australia, I answer the question not waiting for it to be asked, the spokesman said.

I mean the trip to Australia for the world congress of one of the international trade union organizations by a delegation of the Polish trade union that was dissolved several years ago and ended its legal existence. I mean the participation of the delegation in the congress of the international trade union organization that does not recognize the legally existing trade unions in Poland affiliating over 7 million members.

The journey by Lech Walesa and his colleagues and their participation in the Australian congress would thus contradict the fundamental political interests of the Polish People's Republic and would ridicule the Polish legal order. The Polish law regulating passport questions orders not to issue passports in such cases. It also differentiates private trips from the journeys of delegations for congresses.

Poland has sovereign right to protect its legal order and we will not permit ridiculing it.

There is still a certain additional factor related to Polish-Australian relations. A group of trade union activists in Sydney threaten to cut off water and electricity from the Polish consulate unless Mr. Walesa and his colleagues get passports. The safeguarding of the functioning of Polish consular missions is the duty of the Australian state authorities which they will undoubtedly perform. However, such threats are an additional factor imbittering atmosphere and preventing the issuing of passports. What sovereign country will risk the suspicion that its offices work under the pressure of hooligan threats against its missions abroad.

Sentences in Espionage Case [subhead]

On February 29, the court of the Warsaw Military District passed a verdict in the case of Mariusz Dastych and Tadeusz Podwysocki, former journalists of the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA, Jerzy Urban said.

Both men were accused of the crime of espionage against Poland. As it was established, Dastych had cooperated with the CIA from 1973, supplying this intelligence service with reports on Poland's socio-political situation and characteristics of persons known to him who could be of interest to the CIA. Sometime ago, he and Podwysocki started intelligence cooperation with representatives of another Western intelligence service. The court found Dastych guilty of committing the crime of espionage for foreign intelligence services and sentenced him to the total punishment of 8 years in jail, 6 years of the loss of public rights, a 300,000-zloty fine and the confiscation of property.

The court assumed that Podwysocki had not been conscious of the fact that information he had passed on had been used for intelligence purposes, and sentenced him for obtaining remuneration paid in hard currency by representatives of a Western intelligence service for one and a half years in prison, a 200,000 zloty-fine, a two-year ban on taking up journalistic work, and the return of the equivalence of the illegally acquired currency.

The court pointed to the highly socially destructive character of the deeds of Dastych while as concerns Podwysocki, it regarded his activity as inconsiderable and motivated by greed.

Vienna Negotiations and the Jaruzelski Plan [subhead]

Asked, in connection with the prolonging Vienna negotiations, on the possibility of including in a mandate of a future European disarmament conference some elements of the Jaruzelski Plan, Urban said:

The Polish delegation in Vienna has been trying to include elements of the Jaruzelski plan in talks related to disarmament, first of all as concerns conventional arms. We see the need of removing fragmentary assymetries, though it is disputed where such an assymetry may be found and what it means. We would like the rapprochement of stances to take place during talks. What is important is that both sides display the will to discuss the issues.

Opinion on the Balkan States' Foreign Ministers' Conference [subhead]

We treat the results of the recently ended conference of the Balkan states' foreign ministers with friendliness. We share evaluations which point out the significance of this conference for the maintenance of peace, regional and European cooperation, Urban said, answering a question.

Work Stoppage in Wroclaw [subhead]

Asked to present the reasons for the work stoppage at the Wroclaw railway repair plant, Urban stated that it had been caused by workers' dissatisfaction over the system of bonus distribution, the so-called end-of-year bonus (equivalent to the 13th monthly wage). However, during talks between a delegation of workers and the plant's management other issues were touched upon as well, including pay problems in general. It was agreed that till the end of next April new regulations of bonus distribution would be worked out which would be binding next year.

Work stopped from 9.30 till 12.45 hrs, Urban said. He also added that the Radio Free Europe, quoting one of the Western news agencies, said that according to reports of his office work stoppages at the rolling stock repair factory were caused by organizational and material difficulties. We did not give anybody such a report, Urban stressed. We told AP, among other news agencies, that the dispute concerned the distribution of the so-called 13th wage. Western reports on political aspects or Solidarity activity are not confirmed by facts, the spokesman said. One employee put forth a postulate of new elections to the worker self-management. However, nobody took up this subject and this was an individual and the only political aspect of these events.

PAP Cites TRYBUNA LUDU on March 1968

LD020957 Warsaw PAP in English
2305 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw. March 1—Tomorrow's issue of the PUWP daily 2305 TRYBUNA LUDU will feature an article by Janusz Janicki and Mieczyslaw Jaworski, entitled "March 1968". As the PUWP Daily's editor's desk put it in an introduction that preceeds the article itself, it contains a fuller [account], based on the current knowledge of the facts, review of the events which took place twenty years ago, in March 1968. Here are some excerpts:

In March 1968, Poland's main academic centres stood a witness of sweeping disturbances. It was an apogee of the process that had for some time been evident in some intelligentsia milieux, first of all among intellectuals and university students. Although they chiefly occurred in university-level schools, the events echoed loudly throughout the country and were followed by grave consequences to Poland's public life.

As long as until today, the events have been giving rise to various opinions and emotions on the part of the population. In fact, March 1968 has secured abundant, though diversified to the point of extreme, literature, most of which fails to adopt a comprehensive view, exposes but certain aspects of the events while minimizing or simply overlooking other. A brief review of the March conflict can be found in a report by a Central Committee's commission which was appointed to investigate the cause and course of social conflicts in the History of People's Poland. The report was adopted in May 1983 by the Central Committee's 12th Plenum. Nevertheless, it is imperative that the sources and results of March events be presented in a more analytic way.

This (presentation) is indispensable to the party, which in recognition of its role must both have an indepth knowledge of and analyse correctly the past experiences to draw conclusions it needs for future reference. Both intelligentsia and the youth have the right to know all about 1968, since some of the former took part in those events while the latter is often exposed to biased reports, which are taken out of a broader context and which express a political intention contrived in advance. Entire society has the right to know.

More and more often intellectual circles questioned (in the early sixties) the idea of extensive economic growth and conservative methods of managing the national economy. Numerous economists displayed their concern over the prospects of the country's economic development and suggested novel solutions. The state leadership, however, considered the tide of opinions, motions and proposals as attempts to weaken the central system of planning and to undermine the economy's socialist character. Observance of the laws of economics related to the market issue was treated as contradictory to planning and inconsistent with socialism in general.

Since the mid-sixties, an air of conflict started to clearly mark the relations between a small, yet significant group of intellectuals on the one hand and the party and state authorities on the other.

Identification of the pro-reformatory movement with revisionist and anti-socialist movements was a mistake on the part of the party leadership. Critical opinions and proposals of reforms arriving from intelligentsia milieux were treated with distrust and, as a rule, classified as revisionism or operation to the party's disadvantage.

Underrated Role of Intelligentsia [subhead]

A general assumption can be made that the party leadership did not fully appreciate the position and role of the intelligentsia, nor the changes that had occurred in its awareness following 1956. In particular, they could not establish contact with that leading group of intellectuals who put forward rational proposals of democratization and who sought a dialogue with the authorities, recognizing all the time the outstanding authority of the PUWP leader.

Majority of students who participated in the demonstrations of that period acted in good faith and thought they were taking part in a struggle for democratic transformations. The students usually presented slogans which recognized the principles of socialist system and which opposed the phenomena that, according to the students, violated socially-accepted values and hindered the country's development.

One should display some leniency when considering intentions of their actions. They did not realize then that they were being manipulated by various political forces which in different ways made use of their actions.

When viewing the March events from the distance of twenty years, and having gained a lot of valuable experience, we can see deeper into things. The then appraisal of the events did not encompass all the premises underlying the conflict, while their deeper sense as well as their much diversified character were obliterated.

Excuse for Discrimination [subhead]

Nonetheless, the struggle against revisionism, frequently automatically identifiifed with Zionism, was used to discriminate many people, including merited persons, and to remove them from posts they occupied.

The events resulted in moral harm and in a damage to the country's scientific and intellectual life.

It must be underscored here, however, that a number of unjust decisions was corrected on the initiative of the authorities and party organizations. Scholars who had been removed from teaching positions were given work in research institutes. Also chief authors of university riots who had been tried and convicted were treated in a humanitarian way. They were given a chance to complete their studies, and several of them obtained their Ph.D. diplomas. This was primarily Wieslaw Gomulka's initiative. He combined stiff ideological judgements and dogmatism in class struggle on the one hand with a dislike for application of enforcement measures, with patience, or even with leniency towards political opponents on the other, all of which he derived from personal experience.

Another Aspect of March [subhead]

However, phenomena which undisputedly deserved to be condemned were also observed. They included manifestations of anti-Semitism, advocated by representatives of conservatively oriented milieus who resolved to use nationalist prejudice as they fought down their political rivals and took advantage of Jewish ancestry of some of them. It should be stressed here that anti-Semitism could not be ascribed to all the representatives of that orientation since many of them were determined to disassociate themselves from it. Predominant majority of party and state activists had no part in anti-Semitism.

Some of the headlines in various media interpreted in a wrong, non-class manner, not free of anti-Semitic hints the nature and course of the March conflict. In many cases personal clashes had taken on an identical tint and people were distinguished according to their origin. Injustice was done to many persons of Jewish descent as they were removed from political and professional positions, irrespective of their views and conduct.

Those tendencies had a limited range of social impact, although there did exist circumstances favourable to their occurrence and popularization. Between 1967 and 1968, some Polish nationals of Jewish origin adopted a critical stand towards the policy of the Polish Government with regard to the Middle East conflict. What was more, some of those demonstrated their support for Israel's aggression against Arab countries. Reception of such conduct and the fact that some people were sensitive to it was furthermore aggravated on learning that Polish immigrants, including former commissioned officers of the Polish Army, were given high-ranking positions in the Israeli Army.

Another vital problem was that of responsibility for the warpings of the Stalinist era. Different reasons, including historic circumstances in which Polish worker movement had been formed, were decisive in the fact that in the late forties and early fifties Polish nationals of Jewish descent occupied numerous managerial psitions within the party, Army, ideological front bodies, state administration, and law enforcement bodies as well. Polish people preserved the memory of unlawful conduct, of violation of law and order, and of the perpetrators of those offences. It was easy in 1968 to use that memory as a background for presentation of the "alien to the Polish people group" as the source of all evil.

Those circumstances allow to better comprehend one of the aspects of the March events, but by no means can they excuse manifestations of anti-Semitism. The judgement they deserve is explicit, both from political and moral point of view. They stand in opposition to the ideology of Marxism and Leninism, to the internationalist attitude of the Polish left, to the Polish tradition of tolerance.

As a result of the events related to the March conflict some 13 thousand persons of Jewish origin left Poland between 1968 and 1971 and this impaired Poland's international prestige.

When critically assessing those negative phenomena, it must be said with all the determination that the party as a whole and its leadership counteracted evoking the climate of anti-Semitism, though not always was the timing and efficiency of those actions perfect.

Wladyslaw Gomulka expressed his criticism of pro-Israeli attitudes of the group of Polish nationals of Jewish descent. He even went as far as to use the phrase of "fifth column" when addressing the 6th Trade Unions Congress on June 19, 1967. But at the same time, he disassociated himself from manifestations of anti-Semitism. It was on his initiatives that effective June 24, 1968, a ban was imposed on any opinions about Zionism and any references to Jewish ancestry of March events' participants.

Serious Signals [subhead]

The March events of 1968 provided a serious signal of accumulation of insolvable discrepancies and of a mounting social and political crisis. The signal was not, however, utilized by the leadership of the state and party to embark upon social and political reforms and to outline some encouraging prospects of the country's development.

Intelligentsia is a very sensitive lithmus paper of phenomena occurring in the society. It signals—though in an exaggerated way sometimes—accumulation of genuine social problems. Apart from other factors, the March crisis resulted from underrating the social role of intelligentsia and, particularly, of intellectual circles.

Richer in bitter experience, the party has now drawn far-reaching conclusions from the assessment of the past. It develops democratic political mechanisms which serve as a safeguard against recurrence of errors and buildup of critical situation. It enhances public dialogue and listens closely to opinions from every milieu. And the party provides inspiration for an over-all reform of public, economic and political life.

PZPR CC Politburo Examines Reform Data

LD012216 Warsaw PAP in English
2100 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—The PUWP CC Political Bureau examined on Tuesday the government's information on the realization of the 2nd stage of the reform last February.

The meeting got acquainted with the problems of land management and structural changes in agriculture. It was agreed that the current economic stimuli and preferences, legal and organizational principles of land management unsatisfactorily prompted proper administration and productive use of all arable lands. The proposals of systemic solutions securing proper land management were examined and approved.

Planning Official Views Convertible Zloty

AU020733 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
26 Feb 88 p 5

[Interview with Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Government Planning Commission, by Jerzy Sieradzinski: "On the Road to a Convertible Zloty"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Sieradzinski] What point on the road to a convertible zloty has our country reached?

[Dlugosz] Introducing a convertible zloty is one of the most complex and difficult economic problems we have, in view of the universality of money as a tool of state economic policy. This is a particularly important and difficult task in our circumstances. After all, we know that until recently, the socialist economy regarded money as a mere instrument in bookkeeping and accounting, and did not take advantage of money's creative role in the entire sphere of economic development processes.

Luckily, this attitude is a thing of the past. However, both in theoretical and in practical terms, we are faced with shortcomings which cannot be made good within a short period of time. This has to be a long process involving profound institutional changes throughou the economy. So there is no way of establishing an exact date when the zloty will become convertible. Something like this cannot be "decreed."

We commenced this process at the very start of the economic reform in 1981, and today, as part of the reform's second stage, it has become one of the main precepts which is being consistently implemented.

[Sieradzinski] On what does the convertibility of our national currency to other currencies depend, and will it have any restrictions?

[Dlugosz] There are, in fact four criteria which determine the zloty's full convertibility. First, there must be legal regulations permitting free conversion of a given currency. Second, there should be no restrictions on the reasons for exchanging a currency. Third, there should be universally recognized criteria governing the exchange rate, in other words the price of one currency against another. Fourth, it must be possible to exchange one's own currency for any other.

In today's world, such ideal convertibility, satisfying all these criteria, does not exist. There used to be a system that came close to this ideal, at the time when money could be exchanged for gold. But this ended after World War I, when an entire series of very important restrictions was imposed on the currency exchange.

Today the freedom to exchange varies according to the situation. It is different when a tourist wishes to exchange his national currency for another, and when goods and services are exchanged between countries. As a rule, maximum freedom is allowed in the second case.

The harshest control measures are imposed by most Western countries when there is an influx of capital meant to be spent on foreign investments.

[Sieradzinski] On what does the achievement of zloty convertibility, even if restricted, depend in Polish circumstances? On what are we concentrating?

[Dlugosz] We are carrying out this great economic task on three levels at the same time. The first is internal activity aimed at making it easier for producers and other economic units to have access to foreign currency. This can be described as "internal convertibility." The second is activity aimed at making the currencies of the CEMA countries mutually convertible, and making each CEMA currency convertible to the transfer rouble. The point is to create a genuine international currency for our community. The third level is activity aimed at establishing correct exchange rates between, on the one hand, the zloty (and the transfer rouble as an international CEMA currency), and, on the other hand, Western currencies.

All these three levels are very closely interconnected and interdependent. [passage omitted]

[Sieradzinski] We have discussed the mutual convertibility of CEMA currencies to each other and to the transfer rouble as an international CEMA currency. Is this possible without simultaneously establishing correct exchange rates between the transfer rouble and Western currencies, especially the U.S. dollar, even though it is weak?

[Dlugosz] I agree, it is impossible. After all, the point is not just to establish fair exchange rates between the transfer rouble and these currencies, but also to create a mechanism to adjust these rates all the time. Right now I do not have in mind any full, free convertibility of one currency to another, but rather their mutual "compatibility." Even this would be a major step in improving our financial relations not only within CEMA, but also with the entire world.

Full convertibility from our currencies (including the transfer rouble) to the dollar, mark, or franc seems more distant to me than it does to some Polish or Soviet economists. I do not think it can be achieved before the middle of the next decade. I do not see it happening before 1996 to 2000. After all, not everything depends on us and our wishes.

However, I will gladly retract this pessimistic forecast if the West recognizes the new way of thinking proposed to it by Mikhail Gorbachev and accepts the fact that equal economic cooperation with the socialist countries and our own efforts to achieve convertibility for our currencies are advantageous to both sides, and that it is worth supporting them. Then the objectives which I presently consider rather distant might turn out to be nearer. I hope it happens.

Orzechowski Meets Thai Counterpart in Bangkok

LD020146 Warsaw PAP in English
0048 GMT 2 Mar 88

[By PAP special correspondent Stanislaw Grzymski]

[Text] Bangkok, March 1—King of Thailand Rama IX Phumiphon Adunyadet received here today Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski who is paying an official visit to Thailand.

During the audience, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, Sides referred to the long tradition of Polish-Thai contacts going back to the 19th century. Sides expressed satisfaction over the state of relations between the two countries and spoke in favour of their further comprehensive development and pointed to the identity of objectives in the development of both countries.

The meeting was attended by Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs Sitthi Sawetsila.

After the meeting, both ministers chaired Polish-Thai plenary talks, during which sides discussed the state and prospects for the development of bilateral relations stressing that they had been considerably expanded in recent years, especially in the field of political dialogue and high-level government contacts as well as in the sphere of economic and trade cooperation to which both sides attach special attention. The sides expressed the will to further enliven mutual cooperation and to undertake joint efforts to intensify and expand economic cooperation and trade. Both sides also saw possibilities for the expansion of cultural cooperation and tourism.

During the talks of both ministers, much attention was devoted to international problems. The talks showed growing convergence of views on key international issues, including the strengthening of international peace and security, disarmament, international cooperation based on equal rights and the reconstruction of universal economic relations aimed to assure economic security of individual states, to counter protectionist tendencies and to secure free trade.

In light of this, the sides favourably assessed and welcomed with satisfaction the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium and shorter range missiles and expressed hopes that the forthcoming U.S.-Soviet summit will secure further progress in the field of nuclear disarmament through the reduction of both superpowers strategic arsenals.

The sides also discussed the situation in Europe and in Southeast Asia. At the request of the hosts, Minister Orzechowski characterized Poland's activities in favour of disarmament and strengthening of peace in Europe as well as the assumptions, goals and topical nature of the Jaruzelski Plan. They met with interest and support of the Thai side.

Both sides pointed to an urgent need for political settlement of the existing regional conflicts, including the Kampuchean problem. Minister Orzechowski stressed that Poland is in favour of solving the Kampuchean problem with taking into consideration the interests of all sides directly interested and welcomes with satisfaction the policy of national reconciliation and taks between Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk as activities bringing closer the settlement of the conflict for the benefit of the Kampuchean nation and international society.

Minister Sitthi Sawetsila, speaking in favour of a political solution of the Kampuchean question, referred to Poland's participation in the international commissions of control and supervision in Indochina. He pointed to Poland's constructive role in the process of solving the Kampuchean conflict, building of premises of peace and lessening of tensions in Southeast Asia.

Warsaw TV Reports Armenian Demonstrations

LD012031 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1615 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] The Soviet Union. We have received today a dispatch on demonstrations in Yerevan, which have been taking place for 10 days [people can be heard in background shouting slogans] They have been organized under slogans demanding the reincorporation into Armenia of the autonomous oblast of Nagorno-Karabakh. The disturbances have resulted in the death of two Azerbaijanis, and the injury of 16 Armenians. The organizing committee has decided to suspend the action until 26 March.

Soviet Komsomol Delegation Arrives

LD010333 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1300 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] A delegation of the Komsomol Central Committee with Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Central Committee, has arrived in Warsaw. The program for the stay of the Soviet guests anticipates their meeting the activ of Polish youth organizations and also youth milieux in Warsaw and Katowice.

Sejm Delegation Visits FRG

LD292157 Warsaw PAP in English
1800 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 29—A Polish Sejm delegation composed of members of the board of the Polish-FRG group at Poland's Parliament stayed in the FRG at the invitation from the Bundestag. Deputy Stanislaw Bejger, chairman of the delegation of Polish parliamentarians, spoke to PAP about the aims, course and results of the Visit:

"Our aim was to start direct contacts with the FRG-Poland group at the Bundestag and also to discuss potential cooperation with particular floor groups at the FRG Parliament. The aim was fully realized.

"Both we and our partners expressed satisfaction over the achieved results. The visit contributed to the better understanding of the Polish stand and our intentions. Both sides did not conceal the fact that, still, there were many difficult issues requiring very detailed discussions among experts and making political decisions.

"What was optimistic was the fact that representatives of the floor groups that until then had not been much interested in cooperation with Poland unexpectedly were eager to meet Polish parliamentarians. We agreed with both the CDU-CSU and the Green caucus that their representatives would soon visit Poland.

"The Polish side noted with satisfaction that during talks among deputies opinions were voiced without any objections from the FRG side saying that Poles had the right to live being convinced that their borders would not be questioned by anybody."

Comprehensive Ties Advocated in Balkans

AU020842 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Feb 88 pp 1 and 7

[Romulus Caplescu article: "An Important Step Along the Road to Promoting Inter-Balkan Relations of Good-Neighborliness and Comprehensive Cooperation"]

[Text] For 3 days, 24, 25, and 26 February, Belgrade hosted a meeting of foreign ministers from Balkan countries, the first such meeting in the post World War II period. This was an important event for the respective nations and also for the entire international political life. Our country's public has followed this meeting with special attention and interest, in view of Socialist Romania's consistent line of peace and cooperation; of its broad policy in favor of promoting dialogue and cooperation with all countries, and, as is natural, with the countries from its own geographical region in particular; and of our party-state permanent concern with establishing a climate of good-neighborliness and fruitful cooperation in this region. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's message to the meeting is a brilliant illustration of this constructive position, which reflects Romania's ceaseless efforts and initiatives to develop inter-Balkan ties, its determination to expand these relations, and its wish that the meeting concludes with positive and more substantial results.

"Romania," the message reads, "is taking part in this meeting with the sincere wish to do its best to contribute to its constructive unfolding and to find ways and means to increase cooperation among the Balkan countries, by expanding economic, scientific-technical, cultural, environmental and other cooperation; Romania is convinced that, through the joint efforts of all participants, the meeting can score positive results, which can lead to developing relations between the Balkan countries and can open up new prospects for the struggle to establish a lasting climate of trust, security, cooperation, and peace in this region characterized by so much unrest in the past."

A document of profound political significance, the message clearly expresses our country's consistent and principled stance on the need to assert a new policy in the Balkan Peninsula and turn it into a zone of fruitful cooperation, understanding, and peace, in which all states can develop in freedom and in a spirit of coexistence, thus progressing along the road of civilization and well-being. One can soundly state that this stance represents a mobilizing and realistic action program for increasing comprehensive cooperation among all Balkan countries, so that the previous "powder keg" of Europe can become a region of friendship, trust, and mutual assistance and respect, without military bases and foreign troops, as required by the vital interests and aspirations of all nations.

The historic truth and undisputed facts of life have strongly pointed out Socialist Romania's role as untiring promoter of inter-Balkan understanding, of wider dialogue, and of the idea of bilateral and comprehensive contacts between states in this part of the world. At the same time, Romania has turned words into actual facts and provided itself a consistent example of good-neighborliness and friendly cooperation with all Balkan states, by unswervingly basing relations with these states on the principles of equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and each nation's right to develop freely, in accordance with its own wishes and aspirations.

In the light of this experience, particular importance devolves on the fact that the joint communique adopted at the end of the meeting reiterates the idea of strict observance of these principles. Of course, the more all sides observe this prerequisite in their ties with others, the more progress will we all make along the road of lasting coexistence in the area.

Now, at the end of the meeting, one can note with satisfaction that it proceeded in a constructive atmosphere, which facilitated a free and broad exchange of opinions on various ways and means to expand cooperation in fields of mutual interest. There is no doubt that this positive atmosphere, the diversity of proposals advanced, and their concrete nature have reflected a desire to develop good-neighborliness, by emphasizing various significant evolutions toward establishing a new climate and toward realizing that only through dialogue and mutual receptiveness can one progress along the road of consolidating and deepening cooperation. All this further emphasizes the importance of implementing Socialist Romania's proposal on organizing a summit meeting of Balkan countries. As is known, this idea was first formulated by our country as far back as 1982; it was then reiterated through Romania's and Greece's proposals on holding such a meeting in Bucharest. There is no doubt that, with the participation of those factors who can make decisions and are capable of adopting wide-scope and long-term measures, such a meeting would represent the best framework for stimulating and efficiently implementing actions aimed at turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, cooperation, and security. Proceeding from these requirements, President Nicolae Ceausescu stresses in his message that it is high time to proceed to organizing a summit meeting. The current meeting's final communique notes that this proposals will be examined with a view to paving the way for its implementation.

Peace, disarmament, and security are basic requirements of all Balkan peoples and of all nations in the world. In this respect, turning the Balkans into an area free of nuclear weapons—a major objective steadily advocated by Romania—is a very important step. As a first contribution along these lines—as suggested by Romania at the current meeting—the Balkan countries with nuclear

weapons on their territory should discontinue the deployment of new such weapons or the modernization of the existing ones. The establishment of a zone without chemical weapons in the Balkans, in accordance with the proposal included in the Statement-Appeal of the presidents of Romania and Bulgaria, would be an integral part of this process. Our country has proposed that the dialogue on this matter should continue, including during a meeting of experts, in order to agree on and adopt a solemn statement that sanctions the determination of Balkan countries not to produce, possess, or acquire chemical weapons. The meeting's joint communique emphasizes the attention paid to these proposals and confirms the need to study them further, as the Balkan nations expect that one should proceed from mere principles to practical deeds.

Another important step along the road of turning our geographical region into an area of peace and cooperation would be the elimination of foreign military bases and troops. We should take into account the lessons of history, which proved that, far from strengthening security, the foreign presence and interference in the region has actually undermined it and has also represented a factor of instability and tention.

It is obvious that the implementation of all these measures and turning the Balkans into an area of peace and cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign bases and troops, would go down as a worthy example capable of stimulating the creation of similar areas in other parts of the continent, as a most important integral part of the overall process of building European security.

Obviously, economic problems have played an important role in the meeting's discussions, in view of the joint desire and important common interests to expand cooperation in this sphere. It is a positive fact that practically all speakers advanced various concrete proposals, initiatives, and suggestions to stimulate trade exchanges, promote modern forms of cooperation, and expand production sharing and specialization in important sectors for the progress of their respective national economies. Of course, the mutual reduction of custom fees among Balkan countries, as proposed by Romania, would lead, as a first step, to eliminating certain obstacles to trade relations, strongly developing constant exchanges of goods, and better using the important reserves available in this respect.

One should also note the proposals made on developing cooperation in communications, transportation, agriculture, water resources, and so forth and on intensifying scientific-technical cooperation, including in peak technological branches, in accordance with requirements of the new scientific-technical revolution.

Particular importance devolves on the fact that the meeting reiterated its support for developing cooperation in culture, health, sports, tourism, information, and environmental protection, for expanding cooperation at nongovernmental level, and for encouraging contacts between parliamentarians, scientists, journalists, and so forth, through existing committees on Balkan understanding or other appropriate means. All this aims at bringing about better rapprochement and mutual knowledge among the peoples in this area and increasing their trust and understanding.

In the opinion of Romania—which has consistently spoken out not only for permanent contacts but also for the institutionalization of these contacts, by establishing appropriate structures and by creating, revitalizing, or intensifying the activity of permanent governmental or nongovernmental specialized cooperation bodies—the national committees, conferences, meetings, and associations can play a more important role in strongly asserting a spirit of inter-Balkan cooperation. The proposals advanced in this respect at the meeting should have a good effect. At the same time, another important gain is the agreement in principle on ensuring the continuity of the meetings of foreign ministers and their periodical organization, on the basis of rotation, in each Balkan country.

There is no doubt that, through its entire unfolding, through the ideas and conclusions it emphasized, through the recommendations made there, and through the assertion of the will of participants to have further contacts, the meeting of foreign ministers goes down as an important contribution to developing inter-Balkan cooperation, strengthening mutual understanding, and promoting good-neighborliness. At the same time, it makes an important contribution to the general cause of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. Hailing the positive results of this meeting, Romania reiterates its determination to continue to do all it can, in the spirit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's message, to develop comprehensive relations with and among all Balkan countries and to establish a fruitful climate of trust and cooperation in the region, in keeping with the aspirations for peace and progress of the nations in this area and all nations in the world.

Ceausescu To Visit Ghana in Early March

AU011832 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1/3/1988—President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu will pay an official good-will visit to the Republic of Ghana, invited by Jerry John Rawlings, chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council, in the first part of March 1988.

Dascalescu Cables Soviets on Airplane Crash

AU011937 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1927 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/03/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a telegram to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics, whereby he conveys sincere condolences on behalf of the government and on his own behalf, in connection with the airplane accident on the Surgut Airport. The bereaved families are conveyed feelings of deep compassion and the wounded wishes of rapid recovery.

Correction on Agriculture Plenum

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Agriculture Council Plenary Meeting Opens" and subheadlined "Agenda for Meeting," published in the 19 February 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 44:

Sourceline should read: Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1936 GMT 17 Feb 88 (correcting time)

First paragraph, from first sentence make read: [Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1988—The proceedings of an enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management opened in Bucharest on Wednesday, February 17. [new paragraph]

The plenum analyses highly important questions related to the way in which the activity to fulfil 1987 tasks was carried through, as well as the measures needed to attain 1988 plan indicators so that this year may prove decisive for the implementation of the resolutions of the Thirteenth RCP Congress in the field of agriculture. [new paragraph]

The agenda includes... (supplying omitted passage, changing processing indicator to read "Text," and deleting subslug between sourceline and body of item)

Balkan Meeting Receives 'Best Possible Marks'

AU011747 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Feb 88 p 8

[Vlado Teslic commentary: "New Balkans"]

[Text] The Belgrade meeting received the best possible marks by the widest possible world public opinion. These opinions ranged from those that the meeting was an expression of goodwill and wisdom by all the participants to believing that it demonstrated a sense of reality, and on up to those made with a journalistic flourish (addressed at Yugoslavia) that it was a diplomatic masterpiece and a political miracle opening the process of "debalkanization" and that spring has arrived in the Balkans.

The Belgrade meeting of the Balkan countries received the greatest compliments at a time of the many conferences of much bigger countries devoted to disarmament or integration, despite many preconceived ideas, ranging from the historical ideas about a "powder keg" to the political ideas that it is a matter of countries on the outskirts or sidelines of the blocs, or at best in the blocs' "gray zones," and that economically they are trailing behind in technological and scientific development and integration.

However, we could not agree with those who see in this "Balkan miracle" just an expression of a favorable international atmosphere following the Soviet-American agreements, particularly since these agreements were not sufficient to enhance detente or disarmament in other regions, not even in central and Western Europe. Of course this does not mean that the Balkan meeting will not have a favorable influence on an improvement of the international atmosphere. The greetings from Moscow and Washington gave the Belgrade meeting the highest marks.

The secret of this success is perhaps chiefly in that the Balkans are something different, both in relation to their stormy and troubled past and in relation to various current processes in Europe and elsewhere. The Balkans are no longer a "powder keg" because the countries of the region have strengthened their statehood, independence, and borders, and have given a significant contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe. The Balkans have not been transformed into one of many fields of bloc confrontation not because the blocs would not have wanted it, but because of the monolithic policy of Yugoslavia to remain outside the blocs, independent and nonaligned, by which it has practically blunted the blocs edges and contradictions in the Balkans.

In all this, the Balkans have remained "short changed" because they had not time or opportunity to develop economically and to integrate like other regions in Europe.

However, the Balkans were always something different in their specific traits: first as a bastion of a unique civilization and culture that enriched other regions for a long time, and then, in a later era, as the most important European stage in the struggle for liberation that had a decisive practical influence on the shaping of the new map of Europe. The strong libertarian spirit of the Balkan peoples was fully manifested in their joint struggle in the last war, in which the Balkans were the only region of Europe in which whole nations waged an armed struggle for their independence and for a new Europe. The tradition of close relations among Balkan peoples, despite any systems and governments, has remained from those days.

Goodwill has been manifested in these regions for quite a long time, and wisdom demanded that the inherited differences be left on the side and that one should find what is common and close to the Balkan peoples, what is in the interest of all, and what is undoubtedly a new political reality. From this wisdom, there emerged the formula according to which one should develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation side by side not along some well-known lines and groups, but through developing both contacts of people and goods and of technology and cooperation.

It was natural that the initiative for such a gathering should emanate from nonaligned Yugoslavia, and it is only a wonder that one had to wait for it so long. This does not reduce the mastery in diplomacy needed to win the favor of all the Balkan countries for the meeting, and to make them overcome the existing differences in the search for things that bind us together. This is the best contribution to the strengthening of security in this region and beyond.

Loncar's Press Conference

AU021225 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Feb 88 p 8

[Unattributed report: "The Real Basis"]

[Text] Immediately after the conclusions of the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, held a press conference for domestic and foreign journalists. During his meeting with journalists, which lasted a little more than 30 minutes, the federal secretary answered a score of questions.

Understandably, one of the first questions was on the reasons for the 1 and 1/2-hour delay of the beginning of today's final session. According to Loncar, the reasons were technical, not political. It was known in advance that ministers were arriving at the meeting with certain differences, but also with a strong will to achieve agreement on everything that it was possible to agree on. And the only reason for the delay was changing the word order in the final document that was prepared the previous night. Namely, Romania and Albania had different views on the sequence of paragraphs.

Answering a question asked by Belgrade Television on whether the conference opens the road toward overcoming open questions in the Balkans, Budimir Loncar said

that agreement has been reached on furthering relations on the whole, that this has been done in the spirit of confidence, and that this creates conditions for solving open questions too.

Replying to a remark made by the Zagreb Television editor that many more talks on economic questions had been expected and that much attention had been devoted to political debate, Budimir Loncar said that there would not have been a meeting without the political will and concord on the part of participating countries' governments.

It is only understandable that a large number of questions were on the problem of minorities. Apart from the words cited above, the essence of the federal secrezary's answer could be summarized by the assessment that the very fact that minorities are mentioned in the communique shows that a progress has been achieved in views on this question. In reply to a question from Pristina Television on whether the Yugoslav delegation had "insisted on the recognition of Yugoslav minorities in Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece," Loncar said that this meeting in Belgrade was not a negotiation, but a meeting of goodwill at which principled talks were held about everything.

The correspondent from the Japanese newspaper AKAHATA was interested in whether military cooperation of Balkan countries was touched upon. The answer was that military issues were mentioned only in connection with the stability in this region.

The NBC television correspondent wanted to know when the next meeting of foreign ministers would take place. Loncar answered that it had been agreed that the meetings should be held regularly, albeit not in which intervals they would be held, and that there is great interest and readiness for intensive meetings at different levels. Asked about the possibility of a summit, and whether it will be in Bucharest, Loncar said that it was too early to say that the meeting would be held in Bucharest—if there is agreement on convening it. One of the first meetings, the federal secretary stressed, will be the meeting of foreign ministry officials at which agreement will be reached on specifying the Belgrade conclusions.

THE LONDON TIMES' correspondent asked whether the Yugoslav federal secretary was invited to visit Tirana during the two meetings he had with his Albanian colleague. Budimir Loncar replied that he met the Albanian minister twice, that the meetings were devoted to bilateral questions, and that the talks were useful and substantive. They passed in the same spirit as the Belgrade meeting: They were frank [otvoren] and motivated by attempts to find ways and interests for a further dialogue and for advancing cooperation. "There will be more meetings with all the ministers, including the Albanian minister of foreign affairs," Loncar added.

In reply to BORBA's question (connected with this future) on whether the process that opened with the meeting in our town is irreversible, Budimir Loncar said that it is much easier to look into the future than into immediate tasks. What will happen to the immediate tasks, let us add, will be seen in the equally immediate future.

NATO Summit Should Affirm Readiness for Talks

LD012014 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1852 GMT 1 Mar 88

[By Dragan Blagojevic]

[Text] Brussels, March 1 (TANJUG)—The NATO summit opening here tomorrow should reaffirm the organization's "steadfastness and readiness" for disarmament talks and dialogue with the East Bloc.

The meeting, to be attended for the first time by French President Mitterrand, will review balancing of conventional forces—where NATO says the Soviets have an enormous advantage—at the lowest possible level.

This, in NATO's assessment, is the central issue of disarmament in Europe. It also includes the reduction of short-range nuclear forces, as urged by Bonn, and their streamlining, which is strongly advocated by London and Washington.

The majority of NATO's European members are in favour of continuing the process of disarmament and easing of tension.

A motto which is often heard in NATO is that "nuclear forces have been created to prevent war, and conventional to win it."

London's conviction that Moscow's aim is to weaken NATO and "spread political hegemony onto Europe" is apparently also shared by Washington. Some NATO members do not quite agree with this view, but all are unanimous in that is useful to strengthen "the European defence structure within the organization."

Washington accepts the idea that this should lead to an "alliance between the American and European continents."

President Mitterrand, whose participation in the summit has been interpreted as a sign of France's coming closer to NATO's military structure, maintains that talks on the balancing of the two blocs' conventional forces is a priority issue of the meeting. In his view, which will certainly please Bonn, the meeting should not create an impression of instigating arms race at the time when an East-West disarmament process has been started.

UN Envoy Decries Closure of PLO Mission

LD012142 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1958 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] United Nations, March 1 (TANJUG)—The putting into effect of the U.S. decision to close the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) U.N. Mission in New York would set a dangerous precedent for the normal functioning of the world organization, Yugoslavia's permanent U.N. representative Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic said.

Participating in the U.N. General Assembly debate on the Palestinian Mission, Pejic noted that it was in the broadest interest of the world organization's member countries for the question of the PLO mission's activity to be resolved in such a way so as to permanently prevent damaging and artificial conflicts.

All the more so, Pejic stressed, as the dramatic developments in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have clearly confirmed that there is and can be no permanent and just settlement to the Palestinian problem without the direct participation of the Palestinians, whose only legitimate representative is the PLO.

In this context, Pejic noted that it was parasocical that the world organization was forced to deal with the question of the PLO observer mission's status at a moment when the uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories was at its peak. The developments in the occupied territories are what the General Assembly and the U.N. should now be dealing with, he warned.

Pejic recalled the earlier adopted stand of the nonaligned countries according to which the U.S. Congresses' decision on the closing of the PLO Mission in New York constitutes a breach of the agreement between the U.N. and its host country on the organization's headquarters and a denial of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to defend their views in international forums, and especially in the United Nations.

Explaining Yugoslavia's principled stand, Pejic described as "unacceptable attempts at the evasion and biased interpretation, with the host country's arbitrary decisions, of the obligations under international agreements, which introduces a practice contrary to the tenets of equality and equal international cooperation."

Pejic called on the host country to review its decision, stressing that its implementation would violate international obligations and seriously and permanently disturb the work of the international organization.

"Yugoslavia supports all measures and actions that enable a constructive resolution of the problem which has arisen on the basis of full respect of the agreement on the U.N. Headquarters, not only in order to protect the principles of the U.N. Charter, but also to allow the world organization to concentrate at this important moment on the essential issue of seeking a comprehensive, just and permanent resolution of the Palestinian problem."

Breaches of Price-Freeze Measures Examined

LD012217 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2031 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—The Federal Government today warned all responsible republican and provincial organs about the breaches of its price-freeze measure resulting in a new growth of inflation. Due to the uncontrolled price rise, inflation in February increased by 5.9 percent on the January figure.

The government said today it would call for a debate in the Federal Assembly on the violations of regulations adopted in November last year.

The regulations on price freeze or restriction are being by-stepped in different ways—either by direct price increases or by the launching of "new products."

The government said that despite the freeze, some producers increased the prices of their products by ten or more times in February.

Market inspectors were also the target of government criticism today because they reported very few cases of price violaiton.

As warned, getting around the government price regulation only further aggravates the crisis and undermines the confidence of foreign creditors in Yugoslavia's readiness and ability to get out of the crisis.

Further on Meeting of LCY Central Committee

Gacic Presents Report

LD291850 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0826 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Feb (TANJUG)—With its debate on the implementation of the role, substance, and method of work of the LCY Central Committee, its organs and bodies, the Central Committee is joining in a most direct way in the preparations for the LCY Conference. In view of the unfavorable social situation and the increasingly frequent and pronounced demands by Communists and working people that are addressed to the Central Committee that the accumulated social problems be resolved more quickly, this session should provide concrete answers on the extent to which the Central Committee is fulfilling its role, established by its statute.

Outlining the object of the debate in his introductory report at the LCY Central Committee session today, Radisa Gacic, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, as the highest LCY organ between

the two congresses, bears the greatest responsibility for the successful implementation of the leading ideopolitical role of the LC in our society.

Diverse views are put forward today by the LC ranks on its status and role in our society. Individuals and groups who think that LC activity from the position of the party in power is the only possible way to get out of the crisis are increasingly vociferous, while others, proceeding from the assumption that the LC is responsible for everything, are demanding its departure from the historic scene.

Of course, it is not enough to say that these and similar notions are unacceptable to us. There is the urgent need to see how we are implementing the program and statutory role of the LC.

The Communists and working people are right to bring up the question of the ideopolitical and action unity of the LCY and, of course, of the unity within the LCY leadership as the essential condition for removing negative trends in the life of our society. It is obvious that whether we will be able to unite all the social forces into the struggle for the way out of the social and economic crisis and move them into creative action vitally depends on the degree of that unity. This is why the debate on the implementation of the role, substance, and work method of the Central Committee must be in the service of the consolidation of such ideopolitical and action unity of the LCY.

The present situation is characterized by the fact that we in the LCY invoke political and strategic objectives of socialist self-management development, and many people swear by these objectives and these orientations. However, in their concretization and elaboration of different approaches, disagreements and confrontations, and subsequently a different conduct in practice, are often displayed. The key question is, stressed Gacic, whether the LCY Central Committee is helping these differences and the confrontations being surmounted, or whether it is only surmounting them ostensibly by referring to general and principled stands, while not infrequently leaving them to the side, outside its involvement.

The insight into the work done so far allows one to clearly see the good examples. When we were persistent and resolute, we managed to overcome various points of view and approaches, make the tasks specific, and provide full contribution to the practical solution of individual issues.

In this connection he mentioned the example of the preparations for the session, the implementation of the stands on Kosovo and on constitutional amendments. [sentence as received

However, he added, the number of different examples is higher. I am thinking, he explained, of the situations and questions concerning which we arrived at ideopolitical stands very slowly, when timely ideopolitical answers were lacking or when we were running away from differences and discussions about them. While pleading for a democratic and frank discussion, a discussion supported by arguments, he stressed the importance of the struggle against blanket name calling, labelling, and casting of suspicion.

Also, in a united organization such as the LCY, we should not allow double criteria to exist—one set of criteria for the assessment of relations and conduct in "one's own" environment, and a different set of criteria for the assessment of the same relations outside that environment.

The fact that we do not carry out our own conclusions and the fact that, not infrequently, we do not complete the actions we started on time and in the right way leaves among the Communists and in our society a bitter taste of unfulfilled expectations. For instance, proceeding from the orientations of the 13th LCY Congress and from the premises of the long-term program for economic stability, at several of its sessions the Central Committee discussed the most essential ideopolitical questions of socioeconomic development and of the current economic policy. These questions were often discussed as well by the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. However, although this activity was considerable, it failed to produce the necessary results. It is becoming increasingly evident, said Gacic, that the essential results in this area, along the line of the orientation of the 13th congress and of the long-term program for economic stability, cannot be attained until differences in the views within the LC, and especially within its organs, on the key questions of material and socioeconomic development have been completely overcome.

For this reason it has been brought up as one of the essential questions if the present method of work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium eliminates ideological differences and ensures efficiency in the creative elaboration and implementation of the LC policy on Yugoslavia's socioeconomic development.

I think that the following can be said critically both for the Central Committee and its Presidium, and especially for a not insignificant number of other LC organs: they are unable, not infrequently, to assume clear ideological stands on major issues, to resolve dilemmas and to open the scope for broader changes and for a breakthrough along strategic lines; they succumb to a fairly accepted practice of a priori principled support for proposed partial measures by executive and administrative organs and, as a rule, do not go beyond that in ideopolitical action, either. It is obvious that this is not only opportunism and a lack of appropriate insight within the party organs, but also that powerful elements of dogmatic awareness who consolidate statist relations and practice have a stronghold in the League of Communists and its organs.

We must ask ourselves why in their activities toward finding a solution to economic problems the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee do not do a great deal to get into the substance of the ideological differences that exist in the views on individual questions, overcome them, and build up ideological and active unity.

It is also obvious that in the implementation of our role and method of work we are still not properly ready, equipped and oriented on time to encourage the solution of acute economic problems. Are we in a position, he wondered, to face up genuinely and specifically to the problems of unemployment, a decline in the standard of living, mounting social differences, problems in distribution, and implementaiton of constitutionality and legality, although we see drastic examples of their violation? No doubt in the present situation they constitute realistic reasons and motives for dissatisfaction and criticism of the substance and methods of our work.

Further his report Gacic positively assessed the activity of the Presidium on the implementation of the constitutional concept of the federation, on the questions of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia, and on some other issues.

In many respects this has contributed to the successful course of the present preparations for changes to the SFRY Constitution, especially for the ideopolitical substance of the draft amendments to be along the line of congress stands.

It could be said that the Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium have successfully carried out so far and by using an appropriate method of work their part of the tasks linked to changes in the SFRY Constitution. However, one wonders what will be the nature of the activity in the stage of the public discussion, when the role and the ability of the LC in the broadest front of socialist forces has to be shown by its deeds.

In the public discussion on the draft amendments, which virtually constitutes the most significant and the most complex phase of constitutional changes, the LCY should not be allowed to be inactive in any environment whatsoever. If we are not present in the discussions, among working people and citizens, if we are not alert to their initiatives, proposals, and criticisms, if we do not incorporate into these dialogues all the creative socialist-oriented scholarly and expert forces that will fight for the policy of the LC, then the justified warning must be given that in many environments those forces that are small in numbers but which are very aggressive and that challenge all the socially verified proposals and proffer "solutions" running counter to the LCY program orientations and to the basic principles of our society can be very loud indeed. In any case, this is already happening at various platform meetings.

Because of the aggressive nature in their approach one even gains the impression that a majority of public opinion is behind such stands which, of course, does not correspond to the actual state of affairs. We should react to these manifestation in a timely and adequate manner. Obviously, these problems cannot be resolved by the Central Committee and its Presidium alone. However, they are responsible for ensuring the involvement of all LC members, organizations, and organs and do so in an organized way and on a united ideopolitical platform.

The activity of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the implementation of the tasks on the realization of LCY policy on the development of brotherhood, unity, and togetherness in Kosovo has been continuous since the congress. I believe, Gacic said, that in preparing the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee and afterward we were considerably more efficient than previously, but that does not provide a motive for satisfaction or for us to relax in any way.

The experience gained during the preparations for that session and the way in which the LCY Central Committee Presidium and other LCY organs operated then and after the session had positive reverberations and created a climate in which confidence in the LCY Central Committee and in the LCY as a whole and also a hope for greater resolve in the implementation of LCY policy in this area and in other areas were expressed. The differences that were manifested on individual questions, and they are being manifested now as well, must be overcome as soon as possible through the involvement primarily by the organs of the LC of Serbia, of the LC of Kosovo, of this Central Committee and its Presidium, and of the LCY as a whole, to ensure the overall actions does not slow down and fresh divergences and confrontations do not occur, especially, to avoid an impetus to be given to the emigration processes by the Serbs and Montenegrins.

Continuing his report, Gacic expressed dissatisfaction with the implementation of the LCY Central Committee stands on the constitutionality and legality of the so-called ideological plenum.

These stands are challenged also by those who should organize and encourage activity for their implementation. Attempts are still being made in a section of our political public to "adapt" the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress to the advantage of narrow interests by stressing one set of stands and by neglecting the other stands and by isolating individual objectives from the whole.

Differing interests in contemporary Yugoslav society, he recalled, are a reality and stem from the uneven levels of economic, cultural and every other kind of development in the individual parts of the country. This is why its members, even when their attitude toward the broad interests of the working class and the revolutionary movement as a whole is

one of the greatest responsibility and respect, express the thoughts and politically articulate certain narrow interests and their specific social position.

However, uncritical imposition and the pushing through of all manner of partial interests make it impossible for joint interests on vital questions of our social development to be built up, necessary changes are blocked, and confrontations between individual parts of the LC and even politicization of interests which escalate even into nationalistic tendencies occur. It is worrying that in the LC and in the political life in general "unity" and "compactness" with territorial and national characteristics are manifested increasingly prominently. This results in manifestations and practice of federalization in the LCY, and even to the suspension of the principle of democratic centralism. The whole LC, and especially the Central Committee and the presidium must ask why these manifestations occurred in practice, to what extent we have succumbed to this practice, do we have enough strength to change, and where we go if we don't effect a change in the activity of the LCY as a united organization of the working class.

These relations and behaviour in the LCY and in our society, objectively speaking, encourage more aggressive public activity of nationalistic forces. These tendencies are reflected in the phenomena of tolerance, passivity, and opportunism within the LCY ranks, unevenness of ideological and political criteria in assessing the substance and the forms of nationalism in which it emerges as well as in the degree of the danger it presents, in the phenomena of reciprocal mistrust that is coupled with the lack of readiness that everyone should efficiently settle the scores with nationalism in one's own environment. All this weakens the ability of the LC to confirm itself by its deeds as a united and leading force of the Yugoslav working class.

The overall ideopolitical situation in our society and in the LCY is deteriorating. In our public life there is a kind of legalization of opposition and of antisocialist activity that appears to have gained for itself a position of a partner vis-a-vis the LC and other organized socialist forces. These manifestations often remain without an adequate assessment and appropriate political action. The question is whether it is only inappropriate methods and shortcomings in the work of the LC in these environments that are involved here or whether deeper reasons are involved, that is, whether the reference is to the correlation of forces within the LC itself.

The deep-seated socioeconomic crisis and stagnation of our socialist revolution warn with all their gravity that the LC is exposed to the danger of being turned into some kind of an alliance of leading structures and management strata, into a kind of coalition of those who are more interested in preserving the existing relations and power, in the philosophy of social peace at any price, and in preserving the status quo rather than in revolutionary struggle.

Aware of these dangers and of our own shortcomings already at the fifth and sixth sessions of the Central Committee we discussed the ideopolitical activity and action capability of the LC basic organization and organs to implement the decisions and tasks of the 13th LCY Congress.

It is now already clear that many shortcomings identified at that time have not been eliminated from the LC as a whole or from the work of the Central Committee and its Presidium, nor indeed from the work of the Central Committees of the LCs of the Republics and of the LC Provincial Committees.

Gacic mentioned prolixity and inefficiency as the greatest shortcomings in the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Our discussions are too long, sometimes we exhaust ourselves on issues that are not of essential importance, or on issues which should be discussed by other organs. Differences are overcome slowly, and it is difficult to arrive at quite specific work agreements.

The work of the Presidium has become more efficient to a certain extent in the implementation of the Central Committee conclusions, but this has not increased the necessary mobility and efficiency of its activity concerning the implementation of the policy, stands, and conclusions of the Central Committee, which still is the weakest aspect of the work of the Presidium.

We should really bring to an end this method in which action and responsibility are replaced by endless discussions on the same phenomena because this rightly irritates the Communists and the working people and creates the impression of powerlessness, ineptitude, and irresponsibility displayed by the highest LC organs.

The approved stands must be implemented consistently and specifically. Without it the LCY cannot operate as a united organization, and, that being the case, the Central Committee cannot successfully fulfill its function either. When there is talk of responsibility for the implementation of the LCY's stands and policy very often the question of the interpretation of the substance of the principle of democratic centralism and its application crops up, and so does the question of the independence and the responsibility of the LCs of the Republics and of the LCs of the Provinces for the elaboration, application, and implementation of the LCY Central Committee's stands.

Recalling the basic principles of democratic centralism, Gacic stressed that in the LC everyone bears responsibility for the implementation of the adopted stands, while the LCY Central Committee has an opportunity and a commitment, in accordance with the LCY Statute, to evaluate critically the work of every organ and to take measures against those who do not behave responsibly. The application of the principle of democratic centralism thus perceived foils the conduct peculiar to the liberalistic concepts of democracy and also the centralism of a bureaucratic-unitarist type.

This is the way, he added, to properly resist the penetration of federalization in the LCY—when autonomy in the specification and implementation of the tasks is understood as amounting to absolute independence; when the right of the LCY Central Committee to monitor the implementation of its stands, to evaluate the work of the republican and provincial LC organs, and to take measures to ensure these stands are responsibly implemented is challenged; when greater resolve of the LCY Central Committee and of the Presidium to discuss and assess the situation in individual parts of the LCY is lacking; when an attempt is made to introduce consensus into the process of decisionmaking in the LC organs; and obviously such tendencies in our political life are increasing.

Despite the conclusions of the Sixth LCY Central Committee session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium seldom took advantage of the opportunity to assess this kind of conduct and did not inform the Central Committee about it, allowing it to take appropriate measures when it thought they were necessary. Generally speaking, he stressed, I believe that a major shortcoming in the work of the Presidium is that it does not react more quickly to topical issues concerning our life, or that with regard to these issues it is satisfied with information received from other organs.

Thus we come to one of the key problems of the LC and of our society—the rpoblem of bureaucratization. While LC organs are linked uncritically in the building and realization of policy to state organs and while they find in this the source of their power and existence we will not have democratic relations in the LC. Inevitably we will encounter dangerous strongholds of forum-style work and bureaucratism and constant objections about disunity within the LCY leadership and about passivity of the membership and basic LC organizations.

One of the important tasks is for us to go much further in developing new democratic methods in the LCY, designed to enable the Central Committee to be a still more important factor of the synthesis of policy and unity in the LCY and the exponent of responsibility for this unity.

We must further modernize and promote the system of internal political information dissemination in the LCY, but we must also inform more fully and completely all the socialist democratic public about our work. It is, in fact, obvious that communiques from a session and a closed session are not the best method of work, but at the same time a debate on all questions, and a discussion in front of the microphone and cameras presented directly to the public is not always the only, most suitable and most productive way of providing information and being responsible to the public, either.

The process of decisionmaking in the federation is accompanied by numerous weaknesses, expressed primarily in the great slowness in adopting decisions, the low level of efficiency of the measures that are adopted, unprincipled compromises, the setting of conditions for things, and the hampering of decisionmaking. For these situations to be avoided, LC organs should, above all, exercise their influence through the activity of their representatives in the SAWPY, the social councils, the commissions, and through the direct activity of LC members in delegate assemblies and other organs on the basis of the LCY Central Committee's stands. However, this activity must be realized more than to date also through the specific operation and consolidation of the responsibility of the central and provincial committees of the LC and their executive-political organs for the implementation of LCY Central Committee stances, primarily through the development of policy in the assemblies of the Republics and Automonous Provinces, bearing in mind the responsibility of the Republics and Automonous Provinces both for their own development and for the development of the Yugoslav community as a whole, Radisa Gacic said.

Session Concludes

LD011439 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—The 2-day session of the LCY Central Committee ended this afternoon. Two important documents for the further activity of the LCY were adopted: These are the propositions for the forthcoming LCY conference and the conclusions on the realization of the role, organization, content, and method of the work of the LCY Central Committee and of its organs and bodies.

Vlasi on Criticism of Remarks at Split

AU011317 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Feb 88 p 1,4

[V. Surroi report: "Using Reason Against Attacks"]

[Text] Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, devoted a part of his speech at yesterday's meeting of the Kosovo Elektroekonomia LC Action Conference to reactions from the SR of Macedonia to his reply to a question at the Split Marxist Tribune in Split. We present this part of Azem Vlasi's speech in its entirety:

Azem Vlasi began by saying: I understand the reaction in the SR of Macedonia to the partial and not entirely accurate media presentation of my statement to be the result of a misunderstanding, for I had no intention of commenting on the situation or the activities of subjective forces in that republic, but spoke in reply to the question, "How have certain tendencies on the position of Albanians in this area been commented on and received in Kosovo?" I fully realized that participants at the seminar had definite knowledge of this issue, drawn largely from various newspaper articles. In my reply and remarks I confined myself to the context of the question asked, since replying to a question on the reception in

Kosovo of what is gleaned from the media, and an assessment of the situation in Macedonia, are two different matters. Interpreted freely, the essence of my reply was as follows: "We too have largely been informed by the media in connection with this issue. It is a fact that the way some matters have been presented to the public has been commented on fairly negatively among us. We have rather more details from our contacts with comrades in the Macedonian leadership, and they have persuaded us that many matters are not in fact as they are interpreted by some media. However, we have not succeeded in convincing public opinion that matters are otherwise than is reported in the press." I also expressed the view that "Many measures and activities to solve the many problems, from demographic trends to other issues, are doubtless necessary, but it is certainly important to ask whether every measure is really effective." I also said: "We are not interfering in this matter because, as you know, our relations are governed by principles. We do not want to be influenced by any kind of paternalism. We have all become somewhat sensitive and susceptible where these issues are concerned."

In fact, this is where the issue of "paternalism" rests, but judged in general, one cannot believe this is so when it is a question of the right of Kosovo cadres to say what they wish on any issue that involves a different area, when these issues are discussed in Kosovo public opinion, and when they affect the whole of the LCY and the Yugoslav community. I have not noticed people in Macedonia restraining themselves from various judgments of the situation in Kosovo, especially where the discussion of various phenomena from Kosovo in certain parts of Macedonia and beyond are concerned. On the contrary, many people believe and insist that they understand the situation in Kosovo better than we in Kosovo do.

I have discussed the theories on repressions and restrictions in an entirely different and principled context, quite apart from my reply to the question I was asked, and in the context of contributions to the struggle against nationalism.

However, I am unfortunately forced to admit that I have been surprised at the severity of the attacks and abuse that have followed from the Macedonian Assembly, from the Republican SAWP Conference Presidium, and from some other bodies and individuals, based on a partially and not entirely accurately presented statement. There is no need for me to emphasize that of course Albanian nationalism is active in Macedonia. I am fully aware of this. However, I can in no way be persuaded of assertions that I have in this way encouraged Albanian nationalism. I am not at all sure that those who assert this have, in their activity as a whole, contributed more to the struggle against Albanian nationalism than myself. People who pounce on me in such a way must also ask themselves whether they have contributed to the struggle against nationalism within their own nationality. Let them ask themselves whether their viciousness against me helps the struggle against Albanian nationalism, especially as my standpoint against Albanian nationalism has been well known for a long time.

Even though in the above-mentioned case, in replying to the question asked of me, I did not stress certain things which have appeared in the media, I wish now to stress some arguments, since the Macedonian Assembly has asked this of me, as follows:

BORBA on 12 November 1987, under the headline "Nasty Tricks of Ethnic Purists," writes: "Togetherness between young Macedonians and their Albanian contemporaries in Gostivar remains merely on political paper, while in practice the familiar Kosovo recipe is still followed—each group has its own evening promenades, its own cafes, entertainment, and even ethnically 'pure classes' at school." The meaning of this is clear—the Albanians are to blame, the recipe comes from Kosovo, and when "ethnically pure classes" are mentioned, it is only in connection with Albanian-language education.

POLITIKA EKSPRES on 14 September 1987, in an article entitled "Language Partition," writes among other things: "Indoctrination among schoolchildren is mostly caused by workers in education who have studied in Kosovo. According to S.K., 2,600 Albanians from Macedonia study in Pristina, and almost as many in the Kosovo high schools." Here too the implication is clear—all evils stem from Kosovo, from where about 5,200 enemies will be arriving shortly.

Human decency also impels me to demand a denial of such an assertion as, for example, that in an article in VECERNJE NOVOSTI in November 1987 that states that an Albanian teacher from Kumanovo has been dismissed from his job because he spoke in Albanian to an Albanian pupil in a mixed class. But I have received no such denial.

Suspicious—Bilingualism and Ties With Kosovo [subhead]

POLITIKA EKSPRES on 30 August 1986, in an article entitled "Who Sows Division?" writes among other things: "Some working organizations have submitted applications, and others have openly demanded, permission for inscriptions in two languages. In opposition to city statutes and the legal provisions governing this sphere and the use of seals in two languages, the 25 May Primary School has issued a bilingual seal. The Zef Lush Marku High School in Skopje, the Tefejyz Primary School, and the Ibe Palikuqi Sociocultural Club have issued bilingual seals, and the Liria and Bajram Shabani Primary Schools are applying for them. It is thus a matter of areas where Macedonians and Albanians live together. The article also states: "Strong ties with Kosovo have been developed in the educational system." Of course, all this is stressed with negative connotations—as a suspicious business.

There have been many articles about the "boycott of classes" in the Macedonian language by a relatively large number of Albanian pupils in mixed classes, but it has not been emphasized that this is a questions of pupils who have been deprived of education in their mother tongue. About 400 such pupils have subsequently enrolled after the start of the school year in Presevo and Bujanovac (SR of Serbia) and in Gniljane, Kacanik, and Urosevac (Kosovo), in order to continue their education in their mother tongue. We have not been able to accuse any of these of nationalist motives.

BORBA on 7 May 1987, under the headline "Nationalists' Petty Trickery," and the subhead "Temporary Measures Introduced at the Liria Primary School in Skopje," among other things writes: "Temporary measures have been enforced because of the circumstances at this school, but also because some teachers have persistently demanded the approval of the school statutes, including a clause stating that the school signs and seals should be in both Macedonian and Albanian." As far as I am aware, several teachers at this school have for this reason been dismissed from their jobs and expelled from the LC.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI on 21 January 1988, under the headline "Third Child a Luxury," writes: "Couples who do not heed the commune's decision to limit families to two children will pay for medical care, vaccinations, injections, prescriptions, and education for the third and every additional child themselves." While not arguing with the real need to organize family planning, I do not wish to comment, for instance, on the connection between the Constitution and the communal decision on education fees. I do not wish to cite other articles of this kind; there are plenty of them.

I wish to stress once again that I have not commented on certain issues in Macedonia, and nor do I wish to do so now, but let me be sincere—I have been unable to say that these and other issues are commented on positively in Kosovo, nor, I believe, outside Kosovo.

Leaving Misunderstandings Behind

I am very sorry if I have harmed the policy of brotherhood and unity in the SR of Macedonia through the way a statement of mine has been interpreted in a section of the press, because this was never my intention, and this would be totally against the cause for which I continually fight—equality and trust among the peoples and nationalities of our entire country. The assertion that I have encouraged Albanian nationalism is incomprehensible, because everybody well knows my attitude to nationalists.

However, I cannot credit that an inaccurate interpretation of my statement can have such a powerful and negative effect in comparison with the positive effect of the activity of subjective forces in the SR of Macedonia, and I therefore consider assertions of the supposed severe blow I have dealt intranational relations in the SR of Macedonia to be excessive and exaggerated.

Despite my efforts, I have been unable to understand why it has been found necessary to hold so many meetings and to utter so many bitter words and so many accusations. In short, I am appalled at the comparisons between my words, removed from their context, and attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and other serious accusations.

Nevertheless, I believe it is necessary to put all this aside as a misunderstanding, because we have very important problems and work before us, Azem Vlasi stressed at yesterday's meeting of the Kosovo Elektroekonomia LC Action Conference.